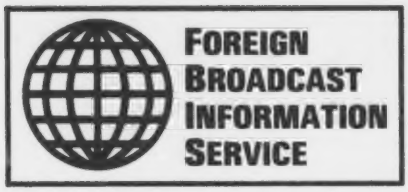

Daily Report

Soviet Union

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U.S. To Begin Pershing Destruction 8 Sep

LD0709171988 Moscow TASS in English 1707 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Washington September 7 TASS—The process to liquidate U.S. Pershing missiles gets under way on Thursday, September 8, at the Longhorn army plant producing ammunition not far from the city of Marshall, Texas. These intermediate-range missiles are destroyed under the Soviet-U.S. Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Chapla, a representative of the department for liaison with the public of the U.S. Army, told TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko that the first stage of the Pershing-2 missile and the first stage of the Pershing-1A missile would be liquidated Thursday. He said that the first stages of missiles would be destroyed by the method of static launch. They will be fixed in a special structure made of steel and concrete at an angle of 15 degrees to the surface of the earth and then rocket engines will be switched on. After the fuel is burnt out, the bodies will be destroyed.

A memorandum for correspondents released by the U.S. Department of Defense points out that Pershing missiles will be liquidated at the Longhorn plant in the future as well.

'Military Expert' on Disarmament in Europe

PM0609155588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Aug 88 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Major General G. Batenin, CPSU Central Committee military expert, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer M. Ponomarev: "Europe After Warsaw"; date and place not given—first three paragraphs are Ponomarev introduction]

[Text] I got to know Geliy Viktorovich Batenin only a few years ago, when the General Staff involved both of us in work on the brochure "Whence the Threat to Peace" published by the Military Publishing House. Since then our business contacts have continued. From time to time I have had to turn to Geliy Viktorovich, who has now become a major general, for help on various questions. He too has turned to me for help. Each meeting between us has strengthened still further my good opinion about this man and his erudition, professionalism, and ability to clearly formulate a problem and find the most expedient solution.

A certain time ago Maj Gen G. Batenin moved to a new job. He became the CPSU Central Committee's military expert. Our recent meeting was held in his office in the Central Committee building on Staraya Ploshchad. I knew that last month, when the latest Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Conference was being held, Geliy Viktorovich would be there, directly participating in the preparations for it. That is why I asked him to tell KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers about the prospects for European security in light of the decisions of the Warsaw Political Consultative Conference. He readily agreed.

I had no prearranged questions. Our long-standing acquaintanceship allowed us to talk freely. Here are some key points—as I see it—from that talk.

[Batenin] Allow me to say something rather philosophical to begin with. Disarmament as an abiding attribute of civilization is just being conceived before our very eyes. However, this idea is already acquiring real outlines. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has come into force, an agreement on 50-percent cuts in the sides' strategic arms is being gradually worked out, and the process of agreeing on a mandate for talks on pan-European armed forces and conventional arms cuts from the Atlantic to the Urals is on the verge of completion.

Not everything is going smoothly; the necessary pace has not been achieved in everything. The documents adopted at the spring session of NATO leading organs show the magnitude of the inertia of militarist thinking. Orthodox Atlanticists continue to believe that East-West relations should be based not on a balance of interests but on a balance of forces—and that is why reciprocal and balanced disarmament by NATO and the Warsaw Pact does not suit the West. Hence the conclusion that if one type of weapon is reduced, the West will need compensation in other types. Thus, the land-based nuclear missiles eliminated under the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles should be replaced by sea- and air-launched missiles.

Nonetheless, one has to give one's due to the peoples and governments of virtually all European countries for their contribution to the movement for a safer world. Through the Soviet-U.S. "double zero," which excludes two classes of nuclear missile systems from European arsenals at one stroke, Europe has provided the first model of the new thinking. This model is still small, if compared with the magnitude of the problems facing mankind, but it has far-reaching consequences in the sense that it asserts the primacy of political solutions over military solutions.

[Ponomarev] M.S. Gorbachev said precisely that during his visit to Poland.

[Batenin] Quite right. Addressing Polish Sejm deputies, he drew special attention to Europe's historic role in building new principles—based on mutual, identical security—of democratic coexistence and equitable and broad cooperation in relations among countries and peoples. To that end, the Soviet leader pointed out, we need a bold breakthrough in creating a secure and nonmilitarized Europe—a kind of "European Reykjavik." On a practical level, as stressed by the communique

of the Warsaw Political Consultative Committee Conference, this means conducting a European dialogue in order to ensure that controlled disarmament on the continent is irreversible and covers all military spheres—both nuclear and nonnuclear.

Such disarmament, as the antithesis of the uncontrolled arms race, is a historically conditioned stage in international relations for our nuclear, space, and electronic era. There is simply no sensible alternative to it, since only disarmament makes it possible to remove the most dangerous threat—the military threat to civilization and the survival of the human race. [Batenin ends]

Talking about the fact that any war would now be fatal for Europe, my interlocutor gave me the impression that it was something he had thought about long and hard. For a continent crammed with hundreds of nuclear power stations, thousands of chemical and metallurgical enterprises, and major hydroengineering installations, nuclear explosions and explosions of modern conventional munitions—which, in terms of power and destructive force, exceed by several orders of magnitude those used during World War II, even though the napalm or pyrophoric bombs that incinerate everything within an area of several dozen hectares can hardly be called "conventional"—would be catastrophic.

Maj Gen Batenin thought for a moment. He was imagining apocalyptic visions of a nuclear conflagration. As an experienced soldier, he can easily picture what that annihilatory fire would be like. Then, wiping his brow as if to rid his mind of these images, he continued:

[Batenin] The fate of Europe, wherever it is decided—Moscow, Brussels, Warsaw, or Bonn—is increasingly bound up with the stability and predictability of the military-political situation and relations between the two European military-political alliances: the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Their combined military strength is striking: 7-7.5 million men with powerful modern arms—aircraft, tanks, missiles, artillery, and navies.

I would particularly like to note (the general emphasized this idea with a gesture) that the emergence of a military conflict in Europe caused by the deliberate actions of political leaders of states on different sides of the dividing line between the two sociopolitical systems is unlikely. But that does not rule it out. In my view, psychological rather than social factors are most dangerous now; it is they that could lead to a deterioration in the situation that might even render it irreparable. Such psychological instability has its own rationale. First and foremost, there is the "abundance" of arms in Europe and the unresolved problem of disarmament in the conventional warfare sphere. This disarmament should be conducted by substantially cutting the Warsaw Pact and NATO troop groupings on the continent in the entire area from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The most immediate aim here could be formulated as follows: The strike aircraft and tank formations of the groupings targeted against each other should be eliminated. Here, too, the psychological barrier which still divides Europeans into "us" and "them" and gives new life to obsolete stereotypes of the "enemy on the other side of the border" should be removed.

[Ponomarev] I think that, in light of what you have said, now is the time to move to the crux of the decisions made in Warsaw—I said, making use of a moment when Geliy Viktorovich was lighting his pipe.

[Batenin] We have every reason to claim—he said, striking a match—that the Political Consultative Committee Conference in Warsaw, which ended with the adoption of major final documents, sensitively captured the moment by updating the concept of armed forces and arms reduction in Europe put forward and supplemented at the Budapest and Berlin conferences in 1986 and 1987. It is planned to implement this concept in principle in three interlinked and coordinated but relatively independent stages.

Stage one involves the achievement of approximately equal and balanced collective levels of armed forces and conventional arms for the states in the Warsaw Pact and NATO. This process would be carried out on both a pan-European and regional scale by means of the reciprocal eradication of imbalances and asymmetries in certain kinds of arms and armed forces. Unlike the existing balance of military forces in Europe, a lower balance with no asymmetries would be established as a result. According to calculations by a number of specialists, the main asymmetries in NATO's favor currently amount to approximately a 50-percent advantage in tactical strike aircraft and military helicopters, while the Warsaw Pact has a 2:1 advantage in tanks.

Stage two involves reciprocal armed forces cuts of approximately 25 percent (almost 500,000 men on each side) together with their standard-issue arms. The creation along the demarcation line between the two alliances of zones (strips) of reduced arms levels achieved primarily by withdrawing from them or cutting the most dangerous and destabilizing types of conventional arms (tanks, long-range artillery, tactical missiles, fighters, bombers, and ground-attack aircraft) should be an inalienable part of such reductions.

Stage three involves the further continuation in terms of time and geography of the armed forces and conventional arms reduction process in Europe with a view to making them strictly defensive and ensuring that the two sides both achieve the minimum levels of military potentials to provide for defense and to rule out the possibility of a surprise attack.

[Ponomarev] But are we only talking about conventional arms?

[Batenin] No, not just conventional arms. The Warsaw communique particularly stresses the priority of nuclear disarmament. This problem is viewed on two levels, as it were: the need to include in the arms to be cut (scrapped) both tactical nuclear weapons and dual-purpose systems which can be configured for nuclear as well as conventional warfare. The Warsaw Pact states are proposing to start talks on reducing and subsequently eliminating tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including the nuclear components of dual-purpose systems, in the near future and without delaying things.

The demilitarization of European relations is dialectically linked with the enhancement of mutual trust. This is very substantive. Reciprocal exchanges of information on the sides' armed forces, arms, and the nature and scale of their military activity should be a stimulating factor in this area, as should an effective system for verifying the fulfillment of accords, a system which could be based both on national technical means and on international procedures, including on-site inspection on demand.

The Warsaw statement on talks on armed forces and conventional arms reduction in Europe raises a fundamentally important issue which, through NATO's fault, has still not been resolved—namely, the scope of the confidence-building measures pertaining to the sides' air and naval forces and the development and adoption for all their armed forces components of new-generation confidence-building measures, including some of a restrictive nature. This particularly means measures that would limit the scale and number of simultaneous troop exercises and the duration and regularity of such exercises, prohibit large-scale maneuvers, and restrict the opportunity to transfer forces and means within stipulated strips and zones.

[Ponomarev] The international public and the NATO countries' political and military circles are attentively analyzing the broad range of Soviet and Warsaw Pact initiatives adopted in the Polish capital. One important initiative is the proposal that the West set up a pan-European war risk reduction center. In what sense is this new and original?

[Batenin] In the sense, I think, that it was the first proposal to set up a supranloc structure for mutual East-West relations on the continent. The functional tasks of such a center could increase as progress is achieved in the disarmament and security-strengthening process. Initially, the center would be a body independent of propaganda influence and semiofficial bodies on either side, and it would be able to assess the military-strategic situation in and around Europe. Its main task would be to provide timely and objective information on the situation, particularly in regions that are in possible operational areas—military regions, as a rule. It would define the geostrategic position of both European military-political alliances. It is understandable that the main aim of such a center's work would be to avert factors posing the threat of surprise attack and to remove elements of tension in the sphere of East-West military-political relations. Needless to say, such a European center should have highly efficient information sources and "hotlines" to the military and political leaderships both of individual alliance members and to the alliances themselves—the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

This is a new proposal, Geliy Viktorovich stressed. I would like to draw attention to another militarily and politically interesting proposal made by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in the Polish Sejm. I am referring to the USSR's readiness to withdraw analagous aircraft systems from forward bases in Eastern Europe if NATO agrees not to deploy in Italy the 72 U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers being moved from Spain.

The political point of such a proposal is clear. It would be the first bilateral action aimed quite far into Europe's future with regard to reducing the presence of troops and arms on foreign territories. Moreover, a reciprocal withdrawal of tactical strike aircraft—which are precisely the weapons in which there exist both a regional and general numerical asymmetry in the European theater—would symbolize the ability and resolve of the Warsaw Pact and NATO to eradicate "annoying" imbalances not in words but in deeds.

The military significance of the basing "switch" for the NATO F-16 aircraft and similar Warsaw Pact aircraft lies in the fact that such aircraft are nuclear-capable. Reciprocal security will only be increased if these aircraft, which can each carry two to three nuclear bombs, are removed from the dividing line between the blocs to a distance far in excess of their combat radius. [Batenin ends]

Our talk was drawing to a close. Gen Batenin had by no means given a complete list of the specific proposals recently voiced at Warsaw that reaffirm our readiness to continue to pursue our international policy in an enterprising, realistic, constructive, and flexible way, as required by the new political thinking, in the security interests of our own country, the entire socialist community, and Europe, and for the good of the whole world. But what was said painted a tangible picture of Europe after Warsaw—the Europe of the future.

Inspectors Observe Military Activity in FRG

Request for Inspection

LD0709155488 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—In accordance with provisions of the document of the Stockholm on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics approached on September 5 the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany with a request for an inspection of military activity conducted in its territory.

After a positive answer had been received, a group of Soviet military inspectors arrived in the FRG on September 7 and started an inspection.

Arrive in Bonn 7 Sep

LD0709131488 Moascow TASS in English 1251 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Bonn September 7 TASS—A group of Soviet inspectors have arrived here today in accordance with the provisions of the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. The group has come for inspection of the NATO exercises, currently under way on the West German territory. The inspection area covers territories of Saar, the southern part of Hessen, the southern part of Rheinland-Pfalz and the northern part of Baden-Wuerttemberg, where U.S. Armed Forces and also Bundeswehr territorial troops are now holding exercises, the FRG Foreign Ministry press service said in its report.

"The Federal Republic regards the inspection of these exercises by the USSR's representatives as a step towards stronger confidence in accordance with the Stockholm document", the report says.

The group of Soviet inspectors arrived in the area of exercises and got down to work. The inspection is to continue for 48 hours.

Perfilyev 7 Sep Foreign Ministry News Briefing

FRG Humanitarian Talks End

LD0709134588 Moscow TASS in English 1255 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—Under the agreement between the ministers of foreign affairs of the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany, reached in the course of the recent visit to the USSR by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Soviet-West German consultations on humanitarian issues at working level has ended in Moscow, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry told a news briefing today.

The FRG representatives positively assessed considerable progress made in the questions of providing exit visas to Soviet citizens of German nationality as part of the efforts to reunite families, the Soviet diplomat noted. The West German side drew attention to the importance of stepping up the practice of short-term visits by Soviet citizens to West Germany. "We regarded this with understanding," Vadim Perfilyev stressed.

The Soviet side raised the issue of Nazi criminals in the FRG and handed over the list of people suspected of committing military crimes and hiding in the FRG. The attention was drawn to the continued practice of using the so-called Berufsverbot ["job denial practice" which prohibits Communists from holding certain jobs] in the FRG, which became the subject of consideration by the International Labour Organisation. The West German representatives, the Soviet spokesman continued, informed about progress in considering by the their country's courts of the case of the Schachtschneiders and Molmbergers, who were fired and asked the Soviet leadership for help.

The Soviet-West German consultations on cooperation in the field of information were also held at the USSR Foreign Ministry. The consultations focused on the state and prospects for contacts and exchanges between Soviet and West German information institutions, journalist organisations, the possibilities of providing more information to the public about the life and foreign policy of the two countries, the spokesman continued.

The participants in the consultations on cooperation in the field of information are received today by Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR.

In accordance with the document of the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament, the Soviet Government asked the FRG Government to hold inspections on the territory of the FRG. A Soviet inspecting team arrived in the FRG today andd started inspections.

Denies Pakistani Town Bombed

LD0709141788 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate refuted at a briefing here today the allegations by the Voice of America, Radio Beijing, BBC and Radio Canada about bombardments on September 5 of the Pakistani village of Dogai [placename as received], 80 kilometers from the border with Afghanistan, by Soviet-made aircraft which flew from the Afghan side.

These radio stations also reported that up to 500 (according to Radio Beijing "figures"), up to 2,000 (according to the Voice of America) Soviet servicemen returned once again to Qandahar. This was followed

yesterday by the official statement of U.S. State Department spokesman Charles Redman, strongly condemning a violation of Pakistan's territorial integrity.

"According to the information received by us, no violation of Pakistan's airspace from the Afghan side took place", Perfiliyev said. "These reports about the return of Soviet troops to Qandahar are also sheer fabrication. Not a single Soviet soldier moved back there", the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed.

"This meticulously orchestrated campaign of misinformation seems to have been needed to divert the attention of the world public opinion, at the time when the conference of the non-aligned countries' foreign ministers is in session in Nicosia and the U.N. General Assembly session is due to open, away from the true violators of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, namely Pakistan and the United States that gives backing to it."

Perfilyev informed those present that an intensification in the terrorist activity by the armed opposition was observed in Afghanistan in the first week of September, which caused the death of civilians. Fifty nine rockets were fired at Jalalabad from 11 a.m. to 12 a.m. on September 4. One of them hit the Daramsar Mosque, killing two praying persons and injuring six. Rebels open fire at columns moving along the Jalalabad-Kabul road and mine its individual sections. A regular passenger bus struck a mine on September 2.

Afghanistan's competent bodies aborted a large act of terrorism by the armed opposition. A truck, Mercedes-Benz, was detained outside Kabul, in whose body floor 1.5 tonnes of plastic explosives were detected. The truck, that arrived from Pakistan, belongs to the so-called Islamic Party of Afghanistan led by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the Pakistani side keeps erecting all kind of hurdles to the return of Afghan refugees to the homeland in violation of the Geneva agreements. Up to 6,000 refugees, who are ready to return to Afghanistan, are in the Pakistani area of Chaman now.

More on Denying Bombing

PM0809142988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by G. Charodeyev under the rubric "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center": "Unfounded Accusations"]

[Text] At a routine briefing which took place at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center, claims by Pakistan about the bombing of Pakistani population centers by the Afghan Air Force, which allegedly took place 1 September, were denied. V.P. Perfilyev, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, who presided at the briefing, said in this connection:

"According to our information, bomb splinters which were found in the place where the bombing occurred do not make it possible to make any judgment as to their origin. Nor is there any evidence of the nationality or the type of aircraft. A person who was allegedly killed as a result of the air attack was buried before an inspection group arrived at the spot—that is, some hours after the event. And a number of persons who were allegedly wounded as a result of the bombing were discharged from the hospital before the inspectors could meet them. Attention is also drawn to the difference in the names of the population centers which were the target of the bombings and which are mentioned in the Pakistani Foreign Ministry memorandum passed on to the Soviet Embassy in Islamabad 1 September this year, in comparison with those which appeared 2 September in the local press. In the first instance the villages of Zaltat [name as transliterated] and Mian Kili are mentioned, and in the second only one population center, Dazalak [name as transliterated]."

"We believe," the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed, "that the absence of specific proof of this bombing and the conflicting information cited by the Pakistani side in the documents, and the unconvincing claims of the local authorities, give grounds for talking about a crudely knocked together act of provocation by Islamabad."

'Uproar' Over Bombing Cited

LD0809141888 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—For the third time within one week the Pakistanis and, following them, spokesman for the U.S. State Department Charles Redman raise an uproar alleging that Afghan military planes intruded into Pakistan's airspace and bombed peaceful villages, deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry Vadim Perfilyev said at a briefing here today.

As to Pakistanis, such groundless allegations apparently become their favourite method by which they seek to distract the attention from their brazen actions violating the Geneva accords. "The conduct of the U.S. side causes perplexity, to say the least. Levelling serious accusations at Afghanistan even before Islamabad does so, the U.S. side does not try to advance even the slightest proofs of the truthfulness of these reports," Vadim Perfilyev said.

"Serious problems require a serious approach. Irresponsible allegations that are immediately picked up should not serve as a basis for official U.S. representatives in determining their country's stand on such an acute and important problem as the Afghan problem."

It is certain that reports that Afghan military aircraft have been intruding into Pakistan's airspace of late and even bombing the Pakistani territory are outrageous lies, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Afghan planes did not bomb Pakistani villages. They did not intrude into Pakistan's airspace and, consequently, they could not be shot down over the territory of Pakistan, V. Perfilyev said.

To reveal this big lie the Soviet side and, as we know, also the Afghan side are prepared to take part in an unbiased international investigation, by a special mixed commission with the participation of all the four states, signatories to the Geneva accords, or in any other way. "We call on Pakistan and the United States to take part in such an international investigation," the deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry said.

It is surprising that after our numerous statements at briefings that reports about bombings of Pakistani territory by Afghan planes are inventions, Pakistan and Washington, without advancing any proof, continue spreading the lies about Afghanistan's violations of the Geneva accords, and, contrary to obvious facts continue insisting on their infallibility and strike the stance of injured innocence.

Europarliament Head To Visit

LD0709142688 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—The president of the European Parliament, Lord Plumb, will visit the Soviet Union on September 7-9, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a news briefing today.

Contacts between the European Parliament and the USSR Supreme Soviet were established in December 1985, when a delegation of the Socialist Group of the European Parliament was received in Moscow. In March 1987 a group of the European People's Party, uniting Christian Democrats, Conservatives, and Liberals, visited the USSR. In April 1987 and January 1988 visits to the USSR were paid by delegations of the Communist Group of the European Parliament.

For its part, a delegation of the parliamentary group of the USSR and the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation visited Brussels and Strasbourg in October 1987 at the invitation of the group of socialists.

The visit by Lord Plumb to the Soviet Union, the Soviet spokesman said, represents a qualitatively new stage in relations between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the European Parliament.

Denies Human Rights Charges

LD0709143288 Moscow TASS in English 1353 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—A "round table" meeting of military leaders (at the level of deputy defence ministers and deputy chiefs of general staffs), political leaders, including ambassadors of some countries in Hungary, and heads of the Strategic Research Centres of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation has ended in Budapest, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate, said at a briefing in Moscow today.

The "round table" meeting was organised by the Hungarian Institute of International Relations and the Institute for East-West Security Studies in New York.

The Hungarian forum discussed mutually-acceptable measures and steps which would raise the general security level and make for success of the forthcoming talks on the limitation and reduction of the armed forces and armaments in Europe. What makes this meeting so special is that it drew top military leaders of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO.

Vadim Perfilyev expressed regret over a comment made by Warren Zimmermann, head of the American delegation at the Vienna meeting, at negotiations on humanitarian issues. Obviously distorting the true state of affairs, the American diplomat said that the Warsaw Treaty countries either did not want to or could not accept the proposals on human rights, human contacts and information matters contained in the document of neutral and non-aligned countries submitted in May.

In fact, about 90 percent of the meeting's final document being drawn up on the basis of a draft prepared by neutral and non-aligned countries have already been co-ordinated, Perfilyev emphasized.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman touched upon an article in yesterday's issue of the American newspaper THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR. Quoting American officials, the newspaper claimed that the Soviet Union had been contributing in recent months to spreading the version that the United States was illegally bringing children from Latin American countries into the USA and using their internal organs in transplant operations.

Vadim Perfilyev emphasized that the Soviet side had nothing to do with the spread of that version provoked by speeches of officials in Honduras and Paraguay.

Nonaligned Meeting Opens in Nicosia 7 Sep

Plans To Outline 'Tactics'

LD0709185588 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Nicosia September 7 TASS—By TASS correspondents Mikhail Mashkov and Vsevolod Polony:

The nonaligned foreign ministers conference has opened in the capital of Cyprus today. The conference is to outline the strategy and tactics of the Nonaligned Movement incorporating 99 states, the Palestine Liberation Organization and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), determine its place and role in the present day international affairs. Besides the foreign ministers are to set the date for the summit conference scheduled for 1989. [sentence as received]

Representatives of more than 90 nonaligned countries and national liberation movements are attending the conference.

A message was read out at the opening session from president of the Zimbabwe Republic, chairman of the Nonaligned Movement Robert Mugabe. He urged the delegates to the conference to outline the movements, tactics and strategy for the upcoming years with due regard for the favourable trends in the current international relations. Robert Mugabe rated among them, in the first place, the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter- Range Missiles, the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and progress in the settlement of other regional conflicts.

The next to speak was President Yeoryios Vasiliou of the Republic of Cyprus, who noted that the current conference is (?being) held in an atmosphere of optimism caused chiefly by the positive development of Soviet-American relations, which leaves a favourable impact on the settlement of a number of knotty international issues. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the joint draft treaty on a cut and limitation of the strategic offensive weapons are a turning point in the whole post-war policy and can be viewed as the first step in the attainment of general and complete nuclear disarmament. In that connection Yeoryios Vasiliou specially noted the efforts of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

There are numerous most acute outstanding problems in the world, in the first place in the economy of the developing nations, the president continued. The plight of millions of people in the world today is poverty, hunger, diseases, high mortality rate among children and illiteracy. Under these conditions, he continued, our efforts should be aimed at preserving peace and security, ensuring economic development. The way to that lies through nuclear disarmament and a political settlement of all the regional conflicts. It is also necessary to ban chemical weapons and prevent an escalation of the arms race into outer space.

Yeoryios Vasiliou welcomed the signing of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan on the positive change in the settlement of other regional conflicts. Touching upon the situation in the world's hot spots, he pointed out, among other things, that peace can be achieved in the Middle East only through holding a peace conference with the participation of all sides concerned, including the PLO—the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. The president also touched upon the problem of South Africa and the Cyprus issue.

On behalf of the Republic of Cyprus Yeoryios Vasiliou proposed that a committee be set up at the ministerial level to study all the issues concerned and draw up recommendations for the subsequent nonaligned summit conference.

The participants in the conference received with great satisfaction the message to them from USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Shevardnadze Sends Greetings

PM0709132988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[E. Shevardnadze undated greetings message: "To the Participants in the Nonaligned Countries Foreign Ministers Conference"]

[Text] I cordially greet the participants in the nonaligned countries' Nicosia forum, whose work deservedly attracts the attention of the whole world community.

Your conference is taking place at a crucial period, when mankind is making considerable efforts to make the transition from global confrontation to cooperation and to remove the stereotypes of mistrust and suspicion among countries and peoples which have evolved over the centuries. The process of eliminating several classes of nuclear arms in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles—a process which has begun for the first time in history—and also the trend toward the political settlement of protracted regional conflicts which has become established following the signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan—all this attests to real positive changes in the international arena.

People in the Soviet Union estimate at its true worth the role in achieving these changes which rightly belongs to the Nonaligned Movement and, in particular, to its actions such as the world-renowned "Harare Appeal" and the nonaligned countries' joint declaration on disarmament adopted at the recent Havana meeting.

It is possible to state without exaggeration that consolidating the positive trends in world politics and making them irreversible is the chief task today of all countries and peoples which sincerely abide by the principles of the UN Charter and by the ideals of peace, freedom, and justice. It is not an easy task—it will demand of them all courage, political will and realism, and a constructive contribution to building an all-embracing system of international peace and security.

We are convinced that the situation now taking shape is conducive to further strengthening the positions of the Nonaligned Movement as a major independent factor in world politics and to making it an active partner involved in resolving the very important problems common to all mankind.

Allow me to express the hope that, by relying on their rich experience in international affairs and acting in the spirit of unity and high responsibility, the participants in the Nicosia forum will make a worthy response to the commands of the time and embody their common will for peace and cooperation in decisions of lasting significance.

E. Shevardnadze

Note on Disarmament Talks Circulated at UN

LD0809080288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

["Soviet Union Note"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text]The Soviet Union holds that the Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow has marked a new stage in the process of disarmament, says a verbal note of the USSR permanent mission to the United Nations addressed to the U.N. secretary-general.

The note was circulated here as an official document of the U.N. General Assembly.

The entry into force of the Soviet-American INF Treaty launched the construction of a world without nuclear weapons, the document said.

The principled agreements reached at the Moscow meeting, above all with regard to the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons while observing the ABM Treaty gave grounds for hope that nuclear disarmament would not be reduced to a one-time action.

Under these conditions, it is important to impart the favourable political climate, corroborate the bilateral steps by multilateral efforts in the field of disarmament and impart a steady and continuous character to the process of the limitation and reduction of armaments.

The Soviet Union invariably attaches significance to regional disarmament in Europe where two major military-political alliances were confronting each other. The Soviet approach to disarmament problems rested on the adherence to the concept of military sufficiency, the note said.

The document set out in detail the proposals for reducing the armed forces and armaments in Europe and building confidence and security in other regions, put forward by the USSR and other socialist countries.

The Soviet Union believed that international constructive cooperation in the field of regional disarmament might have a positive effect on the improvement of the situation in many parts of the world and make an important contribution to shaping universal security in the military sphere, the note stated.

DPRK-Bound Delegations Stop Over in Moscow

PM0809135788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "En Route to the DPRK"]

[Text] The following foreign delegations stopped over in Moscow from 31 August through 6 September en route to the DPRK to participate in the festivities marking the 40th anniversary of the DPRK's formation: a Hungarian party and government delegation headed by I. Katona, secretary of the Hungarian Presidential Council; an SRV party and state delegation headed by Vo Chi Cong, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the SRV Council of State; a Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] party and state delegation headed by Phoumi Vongvichit, member of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo and acting president of the LPDR; a Cuban party and government delegation headed by A. Hart, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture; a Polish party and government delegation headed by K. Barcikowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Polish Council of State; an SFRY party and government delegation headed by L. Mojsov, member of the SFRY Presidency; an Afghan party and government delegation headed by 'A.H. Mohtat, the country's vice president; a Guinea-Bissau party and government delegation headed by C. Pereira, member of the African Independence Party of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Central Committee Politburo and president of the National People's Assembly; an Indian Government delegation headed by M. Kidwai, minister of urban development; and a Nicaraguan party and government delegation headed by C. Nunez Tellez, president of the National Assembly.

Burkinabe head of state B. Compaore, Malagasy President D. Ratsiraka, and Sierra Leonean First Vice President A.B. Kamara stopped over in the Soviet capital en route to Pyongyang.

Political Science Chief Shakhnazarov at Forum

PM0709161788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Representative Forum"]

[Text] Washington, 2 Sep—The 14th World Congress of the International Political Science Association ended here Thursday. Almost 2,000 political scientists from dozens of countries took part in this representative forum. The USSR delegation at the congress was headed by G.Kh. Shakhnazarov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and president of the Soviet Political Science Association.

The latest World Congress of the International Political Science Association, G.Kh. Shakhnazarov said in an interview with your TASS correspondent, was devoted to the subject of the globalization of political science. This slogan is in itself symbolic, since processes of the internationalization of economies and all social life are taking place in the world.

The largest stratum of this science primarily covers questions such as the tasks of mankind's survival, the prevention of nuclear war, the elimination of conflicts, the resolution of ecological and other global problems, and the fight against terrorism. Another sphere of the general direction of political thought and joint work is human rights, democracy, and the problems of social development.

IZVESTIYA Analyst on UN Peacekeeping Work

OW0609125188 Tokyo KYODO in English 1128 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Tokyo, Sept. 6 KYODO—The Soviet Union will announce its readiness to dispatch soldiers on U.N. peacekeeing operations at the upcoming United Nations General Assembly, a political analyst for the governmental daily IZVESTIYA said here Tuesday.

The Soviet Union will also propose establishing a reserve force of U.N. military observers and offer to provide troops and training, Stanislav Kondrashov said.

He said the moves indicate that "this question of peacekeeping operations is being considered by Soviet authorities in a different and much more positive way" than before.

Kondrashov made the comments at the opening of a two-day symposium on the role of the U.N. in promoting peace, sponsored by the United Nations and the YOMIURI SHIMBUN, a major Japanese daily.

During a consultation with Japan here last week, Soviet Foreign Ministry officials told their Japanese counterparts that Moscow is ready to send troops in order to help the world body fulfil its peacekeeping duties.

The United Nations has traditionally avoided using military personnel from the superpowers in peacekeeping operations because of possible conflicts with their worldwide interests.

Kondrashov said other proposals to be tabled by the Soviet Union include the placing of U.N. observers upon request along borders of any country trying to defend itself from outside intervention.

The Soviet Union will also offer to provide transportation, communication and medical services for peacekeeping operations, he said.

The Soviet Union is nearly 200 million dollars in arrears on assessments related to U.N. peacekeeping efforts in Lebanon, Kondrashov said. He said officials had told him they intend to pay the sum, accumulated since 1978, over the next three years.

U.S. 'Policy of Strength' Viewed as 'Rhetoric'

PM0709154588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[Observer Aleksandr Golts Military-Political Review: "Relapses of a Dangerous Disease"]

[Text] The conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the signing of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, the cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq front, the advances in resolving many regional conflicts—from Southeast Asia to the Western Sahara—all this has appeared to people concerned for the destiny of peace as a kind of spring torrent which carries away what yesterday seemed to be the unshakable obstacles of the ice of confrontation.

But it is precisely now, after such a notable breakthrough toward peace, that, in my view the time has come no, not to stop, but to take a look round, to pay closer attention not only to the actions of individual political forces but also to the motives for these actions. A sober analysis is also prompted by the fact that recently not a day has passed without many voices being heard across the ocean praising the notorious "from a position of strength" policy.

The reason for this is the election campaign which has been launched. An analysis of the views of the Democratic and Republican candidates on national defense and arms control is a matter for a separate and serious conversation. Here I want merely to draw attention to the fact that the Republicans are seeking to center discussion on their charges against their rival that he will not be able to ensure that notorious "strength" for the United States.

Thus G. Bush has stated that he has formed the impression that the Democrat candidate is "opposed to any new arms system except the catapult." The President himself is also making an active contribution to this campaign. Some 7 and ½ years ago, he said in a recent radio address, "we came to the White House convinced that the word 'peace' was simply an empty slogan unless

it was followed immediately by the word 'strength.'" In other speeches R. Reagan cites as being to his administration's special credit the modernization of the U.S. nuclear potential, the deployment of medium-range missiles in West Europe, the reprisal against Grenada, and the act of aerial piracy against Libya.

Of course, there is a lot of pure rhetoric in these statements. The Republicans are obviously trying to reap the fruit of the anti-Soviet propaganda which they have been waging for a number of years and which has not passed without leaving a mark on the mass consciousness in the United States. After all, according to a poll carried out by THE NEW YORK TIMES, over half—56 percent—of potential voters believe that the military budget, which for several years has been about $800 billion, should not be reduced. It is to these people, who believe that peace can only be ensured from a position of strength, that the President is appealing today. The persistence with which the administration is seeking to explain all the positive changes exclusively from the position of the old imperial thinking, as a victory for that selfsame policy of strength, cannot fail to alarm us.

And this is not simply propaganda. A concept for seeing the world which, although it has been somewhat modified, nonetheless remains militarist, can be discerned here. That is why Washington is essentially even refusing to hold talks on those avenues where it is sure it has superiority. These problems include measures to ease the level of confrontation in the Asian and Pacific region, questions of naval strategy, and many others requiring immediate solution.

Moreover, the United States right now is displaying a desire to delay the talks which are already under way. How else to explain the statement from Washington demanding as an ultimatum the dismantling "without any conditions" of the Soviet radar station near Krasnoyarsk, which in reality is designed to track space ships and does not come under the ABM restrictions. Despite this, the United States continues to ascribe to it missile attack warning functions. Thus, relying not on facts but on conjectures and subjective assessments, the White House is threatening to disrupt work on the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms. I think that those observers are right who have seen in this an attempt to drag out the talks indefinitely and at the same time to force through the deployment of SDI.

The recent interview given to THE WASHINGTON POST by the Republicans' candidate for vice president, Quayle, also draws attention in this connection. Quayle stated absolutely specifically that the ABM Treaty should either be changed (to the Pentagon's advantage, of course) or renounced completely. As we can see, the present administration's proposed successors are already prepared to embark on the military path.

Many facts have emerged recently attesting to the fact that the buildup of U.S. strategic arms is continuing not only verbally but also in fact. It is proposed to spend substantial funds on B-1B strategic bombers. And on the horizon are aircraft of a new generation in whose creation "Stealth" technology has been used. The program to deploy the Trident-2 missiles is in full swing. The latest test on them was undertaken literally the other day.

The relapses into the worship of strength are also making themselves felt in the U.S. approach toward the settlement of regional conflicts. "In the 2,765 days of our administration not an inch of land has fallen victim to the Communists," the U.S. President proclaims proudly. The phony aim of the struggle against the alleged "communist threat" is thus yet again promoted to the fore in the U.S. approach toward the problem of regional conflicts. And a most unseemly game is sometimes being pursued here.

For instance, let's turn to the complex situation in Afghanistan. Our country is firmly fulfilling its undertakings and is withdrawing its troops from that country. The Republic of Afghanistan Government is doing everything possible to persuade the armed opposition not to continue the bloodshed but to turn to political dialogue. But the "intransigents," obviously sensing support from someone, are continuing the war against their own people. The bloody orgy they organized in Konduz, when it was taken for a short while, showed exactly how the extremists imagine the country's future.

And now it emerges that the United States, a country which is a guarantor of the Geneva accords, almost immediately after they had been signed drafted plans for massive arms deliveries to the opposition forces directly to Afghanistan. This was reported by the well informed THE WASHINGTON POST. The volume of military supplies from Pakistan has also increased sharply. "There is information that the extremists have already acquired missiles with a range of 50 km," Colonel General Sayyed Muhammad Gulabzoy, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and Afghan minister of the interior, said in an interview with TASS correspondents. He noted that U.S. "Stingers," British "Blowpipes," Italian "Milan" antitank missiles, and Spanish heavy mortars are being shipped to the republic's territory in boxes with markings indicating that they belong to NATO arsenals.

Washington evidently understands that supplying the opposition with arms blatantly contradicts the spirit of the Geneva accords. And to distract public attention it is resorting to its old method—slander. That is why unsubstantiated charges of violating the Geneva accords are being leveled against our country. The recently issued State Department report on terrorism was subordinated to the same goal. In the report State Department experts try without a twinge of conscience to present Afghanistan as the implementer of a policy of terrorism. It has been accused absolutely without foundation of organizing acts of terrorism on Pakistani territory. Here the Washington hypocrites have not hesitated to state that the opposition forces operating in Afghanistan avoid delivering strikes against civilians. You only have to read

the correspondence from Afghanistan in yesterday's KRASNAYA ZVEZDA to understand how far this fails to accord with reality.

And here is the result. On the one hand the U.S. representatives seem to be taking an active part in the process of a political settlement in various regions. For instance, in the talks on Namibia they even act as intermediaries. At the same time they are building up the supply of everything necessary to extremist groupings. Thus, Washington is preparing to double its financing of the anti-Angolan National Union for the Total Independence of Angola! What talk can there be of a desire for a settlement?

The United States is acting most destructively in Central America. Over a year has elapsed since the signing of the well-known Guatemala agreements, which created a solid basis for settling the conflict. However, while having formally approved these agreements, the United States has done everything possible to thwart their fulfillment. As a result the talks between the contra leaders and the Sandinists have been broken off. Here the former Somozist Colonel Bermudez, who, obviously on U.S. instructions, is gambling on armed struggle, is playing an increasingly marked role among the contras.

Right now, Nicaraguan President D. Ortega stresses, the U.S. Administration is applying pressure on Honduras, pushing it toward confrontation with Nicaragua. Thousands of Somozists are now undergoing training on Honduran territory. There is a real danger of a new aggravation of tension on the border. The Nicaraguan leadership does not rule out the possibility that it could be used by Washington as a pretext for direct armed aggression. The doctrine of permanent counterrevolution which once so enthralled the administration is thus again being implemented. Yet this doctrine is nothing other than a doctrine of terrorism against the peoples of the developing countries. But the State Department report modestly keeps quiet about this.

As we can see the hopes for peace which have arisen everywhere of themselves do not yet mean peace. The United States is displaying relapses of a dangerous disease—the absolutization of force. Especially as it is precisely now that circles interested in confrontation are preparing the ground to drive the future U.S. Administration into the trenches of the "cold war."

What is the guarantee of the irreversibility of the positive processes taking place counter to the militarists' efforts? I see it in the peoples' increasing awareness of the fatal danger of an endless arms race and endless, exhausting regional conflicts, some of which threaten to grow into a global conflict. Today the prospect of peace from a position of reason has opened up before the people of our planet. And they must not allow anyone to return to confrontation.

Antisocialist 'Subversive Propaganda' Viewed

PM0609154988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by PRAVDA political observer Vitaliy Korionov: "In Search of New 'Dynamite'"]

[Text] The world of socialism is seething with creative life. The desire of millions of working people in the fraternal states today is to avert the threat of nuclear war, establish new political thinking in international relations, and solve the complex tasks of the present stage of society's development and renewal.

Socialism has long been a paramount factor in world politics. And at the present, crucial stage in history the situation in the socialist countries and their foreign policy activity are exercising an increasing, positive influence on the future of mankind.

If mankind today finds breathing easier, if two nuclear powers have actually placed on the agenda the destruction of entire classes of their lethal weapons, and if the policy of national reconciliation has become the key to the settlement of regional armed conflicts, then the socialist community's contribution to bringing this situation about is obvious.

There is a growing awareness and acknowledgment that the role of the Archimedean lever is performed here by the process of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost which is extensively developed in the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. This situation is welcomed by all who are truly dedicated to the cause of peace and social progress. But it certainly does not please the forces of yesteryear. They would jump at any chance to weaken the positions of socialism. What have we been seeing in recent weeks, for example? The 20th anniversary of the 1968 Czechoslovak events arrived and a veritable antisocialist free-for-all was organized. Strikes broke out in Poland and there was a frantic ballyhoo over this episode.

To hear these gentlemen, you would think that the sky was about to fall on the socialist part of the world. "Many people in America," the Baltimore paper THE SUN wrote, "are displaying a tendency, a desire even to see chaos in the communist bloc..."

Typical methods are used by politickers in the West who would like to undermine the international authority and prestige of the socialist countries and disinform public opinion. Some draw a "parallel" between the restructuring that is under way in the USSR and the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia, trying to solve two tasks at once: cast aspersions on the CPSU's present policy and distort its essential nature and rehabilitate right-wing forces in the CSSR who were responsible for the situation in that country in 1968. Others expect the difficulties of the new stage of socialist building to offer imperialist forces additional opportunities for implementing their antisocialist designs. THE WASHINGTON POST even

announced that "the wave of reforms on East European territory is turning the region into the arena of the great postwar battle between East and West." Yet others dream that the variety of ways of building a new society, brought about by the specific national characteristics of the individual socialist countries, may lead ultimately even to... a variety of paths leading away from socialism.

But it is not merely a matter of dreams or pronouncements. The enemies of socialism have still not abandoned their hope of redrawing the map of central and southeast Europe established as a result of the rout of fascism and the choice of socialism by the peoples of that part of the European Continent. Those who hate socialism keep on talking about these plans. The notorious Z. Brzezinski, former U.S. presidential national security adviser, in a book entitled "Game Plan," sets the West the task of "attracting Eastern Europe" with the aim of neutralizing it "under Western guarantees." And THE NEW YORK TIMES frankly wrote quite recently: "The aim is still the same as ever—to alter the disposition of forces in Europe." There is no need to explain in whose favor.

There were some typical revelations the other day in the British paper THE SUNDAY TIMES from former U.S. President R. Nixon. He put forward his own "program" for the destabilization of the socialist part of Europe. First there was a call for the use of modern means of propaganda, above all radio stations and television satellites, to "undermine East European regimes," and then the granting of "material support" to antisocialist forces in Poland and other countries of the region. Seeking to sow dissension in the fraternal countries' family, the ex-President proposes "allocating economic credits, supplying more up-to-date equipment, and extending the term for the repayment of debts" for those who display a tendency to heed the West's "advice."

As is known, imperialism has tried more than once to use the socialist countries' internal problems in order to stir the forces of counterrevolution into action and has given them support. It happened in the fifties, in the sixties, and even in the eighties in a number of countries. Of course, each of the crises was different, but they had something in common. It was not the fact of embarking on the path of socialism that caused these crises, but above all the errors and mistakes of the ruling parties. But the imperialist circles and the surviving antisocialist forces in these countries did their utmost to aggravate these crises. Their efforts ended in failure.

But the enemies of socialism by no means abandoned their destructive plans. An example is the Poland of recent days. At the very time when extensive democracy was being implemented in Poland and measures were being adopted to strengthen law and order, achieve national accord and broaden its base, a new attempt was made to push the country off the main highway and force it onto the path of conflicts. Once again strikes were chosen as the means to undermine the state's economic foundations. By joining in the strikes, which were a reflection of the economic difficulties in the country, the opponents of socialism sought to give them a political flavor. They are trying to exploit the false anticommunist stereotypes established over decades. Once again they tried to undermine confidence in Poland in the international arena, hoping to turn it into a factor to disrupt the positive processes now developing in the world. If one remembers that the U.S. Congress officially earmarked $1 million for the activity of illegal structures in Poland in 1988, it becomes clear where many strands of this dirty activity lead to.

Perhaps it can now be said that this attack is also misfiring. The situation in the country is beginning to stabilize, although with difficulty. Polish patriotic forces are fully resolved to do everything necessary to to ensure that the country proceeds confidently along the path of renewed socialism, close to people.

But our enemies are not taking a vacation. The varied arsenal of methods possessed by imperialism, in particular subversive radio, is being used an an increasing scale as an instrument in the unending psycholoigical warfare. Not without reason is it said in the West that a "powerful radio transmitter is as valuable as a nuclear submarine."

Some typical figures are quoted in the latest annual report by the internal radio broadcasting council, which is the U.S. Government department in charge of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe (I would point out that these stations broadcast for more than 1,000 hours a week in 23 languages). In 1986 the U.S. Government gave these nests of radio saboteurs $124 million in the form of "free subsidies" and in 1987 more than $145 million.

The socialist countries are the primary target of this subversive propaganda. Last year an American-Israeli agreement was signed on the construction of "one of the Western world's biggest" shortwave transmission stations on Israeli territory. Following the commissioning of the 16 500-kilowatt transmitters the radio saboteurs intend to reach the "heart of the European part of Russia and the Central Asian republics" and Afghanistan as well. By the mid-eighties 24 radio stations on U.S. territory were regularly broadcasting to Cuba, and now they are pressing ahead with a plan to put television relay stations on board ships in order to get through to Cuban domestic screens. There are similar plans for other socialist countries.

The danger of imperialism's subversive activity must not be underestimated. Nor should it be overestimated either. The fraternal parties and countries have everything they need to be able to continue successfully preventing the crisis situations that our opponents are trying to create and exploit and to counter attempts to divide the socialist world and set countries against one another.

United States & Canada

Zagladin Comments on Bush Interview

LD0709141988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1255 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 7 Sep (TASS)—The latest issue of the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI has published an interview with George Bush by its New York correspondent, in which the U.S. presidential candidate from the Republican Party sets forth the main theses of his platform on foreign policy issues.

In the view of Soviet publicist Vadim Zagladin, who comments on these remarks, Bush's positions are "quite contradictory." Thus, while appraising the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as an important step toward reducing the level of nuclear arms, at the same time he regards the U.S. policy of strength as the reason for the success that has been achieved! The commentary notes that the changes in Soviet foreign policy which have facilitated the turn for the better in world affairs, "are by no means the result of forceful pressure on us from any side whatsoever. They are the results of restructuring, the result of the new thinking."

Zagladin recalls that Mikhail Gorbachev's package of proposals on the creation of a nuclear-free world was one of our first steps along the new path. It led directly to the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles. This treaty was made possible as a result of cooperation between Moscow and Washington; that is, as a result of a definite breakthrough of realism in U.S. policy.

In his interview, Bush extols SDI in every way, asserting that it has helped "to bring the Soviets back to the negotiating table." In this connection, Zagladin writes that "if there is something which can overturn this table in the future, it is SDI. And the presidential candidate is comforting himself with vain illusions.."

Touching on the solidarity Bush expressed with "freedom fighters" in Afghanistan, Angola, and Nicaragua, the commentator points out that we are talking here about those who are fighting against the lawful governments of those countries, with whom the United States itself has diplomatic relations. All of this is being said during a period in which the peaceful political settlement of old conflict situations is being worked for everywhere.

"Soviet troops are leaving Afghanistan, but Washington continues to send missiles there, which explode in towns, destroying mosques and schools and killing innocent women and children. Is this the defense of freedom?" Zagladin asks. "The governments of Angola, Cuba, and the RSA, with the participation of the United States, are holding talks on resolving the existing situations through political means. It is difficult, but things are progressing. Then Washington goes and announces its decision to increase significantly its supply of arms to forces fighting the Government of Angola. Is this a freedom struggle?"

"Each and every people needs freedom, but freedom which corresponds to their traditions, sense of justice, and interests. It is precisely the free choice by each people of its own path of development which is the precondition for civilized international relations," Zagladin concludes.

Bush Criticizes Dukakis on Defense Issues

LD0809082188 Moscow TASS in English 0659 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Washington September 8 TASS—TASS corrspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy reports:

George Bush, presidential candidate from the Republican Party, made Wednesday new verbal attacks on Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis, his rival in the struggle for the post of president. He went to the length of accusing Dukakis of the desire to disarm America and to unilaterally freeze its nuclear arsenals. According to Bush, if Dukakis does not want to modernize America's defenses, it is a threat to America. In his opinion, the best way to preserve peace is to build up U.S. military might and to develop the "Strategic Defense Initiative".

The statement was met with stormy applause, because Bush came up with his promises to make a policy from the position of strength the guiding principle of his administration before the most suitable audience—the 70th annual congress of the American Legion in Louisville, Kentucky. It was attended by 6,000 delegates of that chauvinistic and ultra-conservative organization.

On the same day Bush started his struggle against Dukakis for the votes of those who favour unconditional U.S. support for Israel. Speaking in Baltimore, Maryland, at a congress of the Jewish organization B'nai B'rith, Bush said that during the rule of the Reagan administration whose policy he pledged to continue the "dream" of a "strategic partnership" of the U.S. and Israel had become a reality. Bush promised to find a way to peace in the Middle East in case he won the election.

Following Bush, Michael Dukakis made similar promises to 1,200 delegates of B'nai B'rith. At the moment he enjoys greater support among the Jewish electorate because his wife is a Jew.

As for the popularity among voters in general, the latest public opinion poll taken by WASHINGTON POST jointly with the ABC television company shows that Bush managed to increase the gap between himself and Dukakis. According to the results of the public opinion poll, at present 51 per cent of the electorate support Bush and 43 per cent support Dukakis.

Dan Quayle, Bush's running mate, received yesterday a rather unusual present: He was given a fire-extinguisher by Robert Dole, Republican leader in the Senate, allegedly for neutralizing the press. Last month the press emphatically accused Quayle of joining the National Guard during the war in Vietnam with the aim to avoid being called up and sent to Vietnam. However, the fire started by those accusations seems to be put out.

Reagan Attacks Democrats, Lauds Use of Force
LD0709120688 Moscow TASS in English 1135 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Washington September 7 TASS—President Reagan started Tuesday [7 September] his autumn campaign in support for Vice President George Bush, presidential candidate from the Republican Party. He spoke at the 70th annual congress of the American Legion in Louisville, Kentucky, making there a stopover on his way to Washington from California where he spent a three-week holiday. Reagan strongly attacked in his speech the Democratic Party and its presidential candidate.

Speaking before that ultra-conservative organization, President Reagan openly advocated a policy from the position of strength. He contrasted the "liberalism" of Democrats with the buildup of the U.S. Armed Forces and armaments during his presidency, with the use of force "from Libya to Grenada" and a worldwide struggle against communism. It is known to all that while the Reagan administration was in office, U.S. military spending soared to reach 2 trillion dollars. Reagan spoke about the modernization of the U.S. strategic forces, the strengthening of the Navy which boasts today some 600 naval ships, of the Air Force and the Army whose strength was increased by four divisions, describing it as "mission accomplished".

He never mentioned by name Michael Dukakis, presidential candidate from the Democratic Party. And still, he made it perfectly clear that, in his opinion, Dukakis personifies a philosophy which hampers the buildup of U.S. military might which, according to the President, is "the only road to peace". "We still hear the voices of the liberal ideology of decline and retreat", Reagan said, accusing Bush's rival of having a "list of cancellations or delays" that includes the M.X., the B-1, a new Trident missile, the Stealth bomber and the Strategic Defense Initiative. However, Dukakis supports new Trident missiles and the creation of Stealth bombers invisible to radars, although he expresses reservations concerning other programs mentioned by Reagan.

According to President Reagan, it is only a further arms buildup that can consolidate peace. He said: "They (liberals) have praised me for negotiating the INF Treaty but opposed deploying the missiles that made that treaty possible.... They want to conclude more arms reduction treaties, but would cancel or delay the weapons systems on which successful negotiations will depend". Reagan passed in silence questions connected with Soviet-American talks on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive armaments.

Statements 'Evoke Surprise'
LD0701180080 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT 7 Sep 88

["On Pronouncements of U.S. President"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—TASS news analyst Dmitriy Yakubov writes:

The competition for the presidency becomes more acute in the USA with every day. The presidential candidates look for ever new arguments to attract voters. Time will show which presidential candidate will win over the majority. One can hardly overlook, however, some arguments expressed in the election debates.

The Republican presidential candidate George Bush is naturally supported in his election campaign by President Reagan. They have been in the White House for a considerable period of time. So it is not surprising that the President declares in Bush's support. At the same time, some of the theses he advances cannot but evoke surprise and even resolute objection.

In his spech at the national convention of the American Legion in Louisville on September 6, President Reagan openly glorified power politics. The President, without a shade of embarrassment, expressed admiration for the interference of the U.S. forces in the previous years "from Libya to Grenada" and, what is more, blessed such interference in the future for the purpose of "global struggle against communism". In other words, in the President's opinion, the doctrine of neo-globalism should continue serving the United States military, strategic and political interests.

These pronouncements of the President of the USA would not have attracted so much attention if the beginning of this year was not marked by the events which made humanity more hopeful of the future. A political dialogue increasingly becomes an effecive means of resolving most complex international matters, be it problems of arms reduction or political settlement of regional conflicts. Political dialogue, and not the use of force, has future. This conclusion is expected by peoples from political leaders of all countries. And this is something to be remembered also during election debates.

USSR-U.S. Relations as Election Issue

PM0209142088 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[APN correspondent E. Cheporov report: "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: Soviet-U.S. Relations in the Mirror of the Election Contest"]

[Text] New York—It is not easy, on reading reports on the election campaign, to say what place the subject of American-Soviet relations occupies in it, APN's correspondent reports to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office. It is not easy for the voter to grasp the candidates' views, either. Why not? The speeches by G. Bush and M. Dukakis do not indicate that they have any precise strategy for building relations with the USSR. Their remarks on arms reduction issues are fragmentary and the White House contenders say nothing about their understanding of political, trade, and humanitarian ties with the Soviet Union.

If you take the summit meetings in Washington and Moscow and the agreements achieved there as the starting point, then G. Bush is, in my view, now taking a step backward. Yes, he supports the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and advocates an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in offensive nuclear arms, but all this is President R. Reagan's legacy. The Republican candidate, however, proposes the linkage of nuclear arms reduction with conventional arms reduction, which, it is believed, will certainly retard nuclear talks. For G. Bush, the "Star Wars" strategy is "America's salvation from the Soviet nuclear threat." He is not inclined to regard the "cold war" as over, he intends to seek peace only "through strength," and he shows unconcealed skepticism about our restructuring. Trust as a political concept is not in his vocabulary, and he insists on "vigilance" and "toughness" with regard to Moscow.

On the basis of these premises, G. Bush attacks his opponent, claiming that M. Dukakis intends to "leave America absolutely defenseless" in the face of the enemy's missiles and that with M. Dukakis as U.S. president the world will be "in greater danger." G. Bush finds grounds for these accusations in the fact that M. Dukakis comes out against the production of the MX and Midgetman missiles and the B-1 bomber, and that the Democrats' leader does not intend to go further than scientific research in the "Star Wars" strategy. Here G. Bush does not even mention the fact that, like himself, M. Dukakis supports the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, acknowledges the need for the reduction of nuclear offensive arms, and also calls for the strengthening of conventional arms potential in Europe.

If you scrupulously collect and list all M. Dukakis' statements on military matters—which the ordinary voter is not very likely to do—on the whole they appear more radical than Bush's. The majority of these statements were made during the primary elections—M. Dukakis has not gone back on them, but he does not remind us of them much either. Now that the election campaign has entered the concluding phase, the Democrats' candidate has restricted the list of acute disarmament problems he raises. The subject of military spending, its growth, and its influence on the economy is what basically remains in his arsenal. This is an appeal to the Americans' financial interests. But what about an appeal to their interest in surviving in the nuclear age by establishing better relations with the USSR? This broader approach cannot yet be seen in M. Dukakis' speeches.

How strong is the conservative trend in America which made its presence felt in the first years of Reagan's rule? Is it being squeezed out by realistic sentiments dictated by the desire not to dominate, but to build relations with the USSR as equals? These are the questions that both parties' election headquarters are racking their brains over. They are questions concerning what kind of voters to aim at and what ideas to propagandize.

On questions of war and peace and relations with the USSR, G. Bush has chosen a position to the right of the present President. Whatever it says, it has one virtue in the voters' eyes—clarity. I am not talking about the fact that many people are attracted specifically to the "toughness" of G. Bush's course. M. Dukakis had and probably still has the potential to construct his policy on equally clear principles, but with a different thrust. He gained the right to do this from changes in American public awareness and people's desire to progress more rapidly toward better relations with the USSR. The Democrats' candidate has not made up his mind to take advantage of this right. In the polemics between him and G. Bush about who is the "greater patriot," who better understands the problems of the country's national security, it seems to me that G. Bush is scoring points while M. Dukakis often finds himself on the defensive....

This is not a new role for the Democrats. They are traditionally afraid of the "liberal" label, and in order to avoid it they drift to the right. The Republicans, observers here note, have their hands free—they have no need to prove their devotion to the ruling class. But at crucial political turning points the Democrats have to do this. Changes in relations with the USSR have always been associated with such turning points. Not for nothing does the press identify a chronology—under the Republicans Eisenhower, Nixon, Ford, and Reagan U.S. relations with the USSR improved, while under the Democrats Truman, Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter they deteriorated.

The present stage in the U.S. election campaign is as yet giving none too clear a picture of the prospects for the devleopment of Soviet-American relations. It is anticipated that the candidates will clarify their positions in the course of a series of forthcoming television debates.

G. Bush, however, has already turned down the first appearances. Unless his level of popularity falls, it is predicted, he will continue to avoid debates. I do not think, however, that either of the candidates, whatever speeches he may make, will be able to start from scratch in relations between our countries. The signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the current talks on strategic offensive arms reduction, and the changes in people's mood have already become contemporary milestones. Failing to take note of this and going into reverse is a risky venture for any politician.

U.S. Labor Union Delegation Visits USSR

PM0709105788 Moscow TRUD in Russian 30 Aug 88 p 3

[I. Belov report: "Useful Meetings"]

[Text] A group of journalists from the United States was in our country 19-28 August at the invitation of the TRUD Editorial Bureau. The guests, representing the national publications of five sector labor unions, familiarized themselves in detail with the work of the republic trade union organizations of Lithuania and Moldavia and visited a number of industrial and agricultural enterprises. The journalists were received by the deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; I.P. Morar, team leader at the "Kishinevskiy Traktornyy Zavod" Production Association; and V.I. Yanayev, AUCCTU secretary, and familiarized themselves in detail with the work of the TRUD Editorial Bureau.

The conversations focused above all on ways and means of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, the democratization of Soviet society, and the role and participation of Soviet trade unions in restructuring.

In conversation with this TRUD correspondent on the eve of his flight home, Fred Solouey, group leader and deputy editor of the magazine PUBLIC EMPLOYEE, said:

"We are very grateful for the opportunity we have been given to visit the Soviet Union at this exciting time for restructuring and glasnost.

"There are people in American society and the labor union movement who think and act in the old way. One manifestation of this is the so-called policy of boycotting contacts with Soviet trade unions. Our group members reject the old thinking.

"We now have a much better understanding of Soviet reality and are using the information we have obtained to deepen and expand ties between working people in the United States and the Soviet Union."

China

Qian Qichen Supports Summit With USSR

LD0209224788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1849 GMT 31 Aug 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Vladimir Tsvetov]

[Excerpts] The (?TSUSHI) magazine has published, under the title "The Transition From Confrontation to Dialogue," an article by PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. I will brief you on some of the points in this article. Over the last few years, the author writes, the trend toward dialogue has become stronger in the international arena. [passage omitted]

Speaking about Chinese-Soviet relations, the minister pointed out that 12 rounds of political consultations at the deputy foreign minister level have already taken place between the USSR and PRC. Border negotiations are also under way. The Chinese side, Qian Qichen emphasizes, consistently advocates normalization of relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence and elimination of existing obstacles. The author advocates holding a Chinese-Soviet summit, emphasizing the necessity of creating the appropriate conditions and atmosphere for this.

Power Station Contract Signed With PRC

LD0709140988 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Beijing September 7 TASS—The Soviet and the Chinese sides signed a contract here today, under which the USSR will render technical assistance in building a 600 megawatt thermal electric power station in Nanjing, Jiangsu Province. The contract was concluded by the Chinese International Power Development Corporation Huangeng and the All-Union Association Technopromexport, of the USSR's Ministry of External Economic Relations.

Technical assistance provides for designing, delivery of complete sets of equipment for two generating units, and services of specialists. Chinese organisations plan to put into exploitation the first generating unit of the Nanjing thermal electric power station late in 1990. The contract provides for technical assistance to be compensated by the Chinese side's services in repairing Soviet ships at shipyards of the People's Republic of China, and also deliveries of consumer goods.

The conclusion of the contract is a good beginning in our cooperation, said president of the Huangeng corporation, Wan Defang, at the contract signing ceremony. He underlined the partners' mutual striving for further expansion of mutually beneficial cooperation and noted

that the quality construction of the thermal electric power station in Nanjing within the pre-set dates would largely help alleviate power supply difficulties in that area of China.

Protocol for Soviet, Chinese, Mongolian Railways
OW0709135988 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Railway delegations from the Soviet Union, China, and Mongolia ended their negotiations in Hohhot [Inner Mongolia] on 6 September. The negotiations had been suspended for 22 years.

The results of the negotiation were fruitful. The three delegations signed a new protocol on railway transportation, and discussed ways to enhance the three countries' economic cooperation through their railway links.

Martyred Soviet Servicemen Honored in PRC
PM0709105188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under general heading "Events, Facts"]

[Text] In connection with the 43d anniversary of the victory over militarist Japan, representatives of the USSR Embassy in the PRC placed wreaths at the monuments to and tombs of the Soviet servicemen who died in the fighting for China's freedom and independence. Wreath-placing ceremonies were held in Hailar, Qiqihar, Shenyang, Dalian, Chongqing, Wuhan, and other cities.

National People's Congress Committee Meets
LD0609101488 Moscow TASS in English 2024 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Beijing September 6 TASS—A regular meeting of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress ended here today.

The meeting discussed in detail and adopted a law of the People's Republic of China on keeping the state secret, additional provisions on punishing criminals for revealing the state secret, a provision on active military service of officers of the Chinese Army and other legislative acts, XINHUA news agency reported.

The meeting heard reports on the price and wage reform, and also on the state and tasks of ensuring public order in China.

Carlucci Holds Talks With Deng Xiaoping
LD0709190288 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Beijing, September 7 TASS—At a meeting with U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci here today Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the PRC Deng Xiaoping welcomed the present trend toward the easing of the international situation. "China does not claim hegemony. It exerts efforts toward the country's modernization and declares for world peace. This is our starting point in tackling problems", he said.

The Chinese leader emphasized that the PRC and the USA should develop contacts in accordance with the bilateral documents signed earlier. He expressed satisfaction with the state of Chinese-U.S. relations and said that the current visit of the U.S. defense secretary promotes further development of friendly ties between the two countries and their armed forces.

Frank Carlucci noted that contacts in the military area between the USA and the PRC rest on a durable basis and are an important composite part of U.S.-Chinese relations.

Speaking at a news conference today, the U.S. defense secretary said that questions of the exchange of military technology by the two countries had been discusssed during his visit.

He expressed satisfaction with the results of the discussions with the PRC leaders on the question of the sales of Chinese arms to Iran, Syria and Pakistan. He said that Chinese officials had said that the PRC would be acting responsibly in future as regards the sale of its armaments in the Middle East.

The head of the U.S. military department said that the question of Kampuchea had cropped up during the negotiations many times.

Li Peng Outlines Reforms to CSSR's Husak
PM0809090588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Talks Held"]

[Text] Beijing, 4 Sep—Talks have been held here today between Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, and Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR, who is paying an official friendly visit to the PRC. The sides exchanged information on the implementation of reforms in the two countries' social and economic lives and on international themes.

The Chinese leader stressed in particular the need for the creation of a socialist planned commodity economy in the PRC. To achieve this goal it is necessary first of all to regulate the price formation system, Li Peng said, because the lack of rational prices makes it impossible to activate the participation of workers and peasants in deepening the reform and to ensure that enterprises compete on equal terms. He also noted that there must be a clear orientation toward reform and that measures within the framework of the present renewal of the economy must be thoroughly thought out. To promote

the steady development of the country's national economy it is necessary to fully consider the feasibility of the workload placed on enterprises, collectives, and society as a whole.

The PRC State Council premier pointed to the need to increase the economic efficiency of individual enterprises' work by introducing there the contractual system of labor organization, which will make it possible to really combine enterprises' obligations, rights, and interests.

President G. Husak of the CSSR noted that Czechoslovakia has been following with great attention the measures that China is implementing in the framework of the reform, including in the price formation sphere.

G. Husak told Li Peng about the CSSR's efforts aimed at accelerating the process of democratization and reforming the economic system and at making legislative activity more thorough.

The sides discussed questions of bilateral relations. During the talks there was an exchange of opinions on a number of international problems of mutual interest.

Further Reportage on Visit by Japan's Takeshita

Comments on Ties 27 Aug

PM3108132388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS reports under general heading: "Meeting in Beijing"]

[Text] Beijing, 27 Aug—According to XINHUA reports, Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, met with [Japanese] Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita, who is on an official visit to China, Friday [26 August].

Zhao Ziyang expressed thanks to the prime minister of Japan for the efforts to develop long-term Sino-Japanese friendship.

N. Takeshita gave a high appraisal of the economic and political reform being implemented in China and of the PRC's open foreign policy. It is perfectly natural for Japan, he said, to strengthen economic cooperation with China.

Beijing, 27 Aug—Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita is satisfied with the results of his official visit to the PRC. He stated this at a press conference held here today.

I got the impression, the head of the Japanese Government noted, that China is seriously and actively engaged in modernization, implementing reform, and pursuing a political line of expanding ties with the outside world. Japan will cooperate with China in these spheres.

A Sino-Japanese agreement on the encouragement and mutual protection of investments was signed here today in the presence of Li Peng and Noboru Takeshita.

On the same day N. Takeshita left Beijing for China's northwest province of Gansu.

Outcome of Visit Viewed

OW0409023888 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] China and Japan speak highly of the results of Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita's recent visit to China. They regard the visit as a new chapter in Sino-Japanese friendship. Many observers also hold that the agreements reached during Takeshita's meetings with Chinese leaders will promote further development of economic relations, trade, and cooperation in various fields between the two countries. For example, during the visit the Japanese prime minister offered China its third loan, amounting to $6 billion. China has never obtained such a huge loan before. Deng Xiaoping personally thanked Takeshita for the new loan. According to experts, Japan's loans to China up to now have totaled $12 billion.

In return, China has provided extremely preferential conditions for Japanese firms to invest in China. Those Japanese firms have the same rights and interests as Chinese firms and enjoy great conveniences in paying taxes, obtaining raw materials, and hiring workers. Western entrepreneurs, deeply worried about the situation, complain that China has never given such preferential treatment to other foreign business partners. Japanese firms in China are operating under much better conditions than other foreign firms there.

Japan also takes on an extraordinary mission, as the Japanese prime minister promised to help the People's Republic of China modernize itself. He also promised to help find a way to lessen Cocom's export restrictions on China. In this regard, some observers point out that no Cocom member state has ever made such a commitment to lessen export restrictions to a socialist country. According to some authoritative observers, Takeshita and Chinese leaders held identical or similar views on many aspects of the international issues that they discussed. For instance, both sides expressed satisfaction over the improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations and regarded this improvement as conducive to the relaxation of international relations as a whole. On Chinese-Soviet relations, Premier Li Peng told Takeshita that the normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations has been put on the daily agenda.

Asian-Pacific countries are particularly interested in Takeshita's remarks. He said that long-term economic cooperation between Japan and China will benefit not

only the economies of Japan and China, but also that of all of Asia. His remarks do make sense: The development of equal and mutually-beneficial economic relations between China and Japan and between other countries will no doubt have a positive impact on the economic situation and political atmosphere in the Asian-Pacific region. This is mainly because all countries are sincerely devoted to peace, detente, mutual trust, and the elimination of military threats.

However, observers are also deeply concerned about certain Japanese policies in this regard. The press has taken note of the remarks Zhang Xiangshan, member of the 21st Century Committee for China-Japan Friendship and the chief representative of the Chinese side, made on Japan's policies during a press interview.

Zhang Xiangshan said: The Chinese people are attentively watching the road Japan takes, and watching to see whether Japan will become a military power. With its huge economic strength, Japan has already become a political power. We are not opposed to Japan's efforts to enhance its influence in the world, but we are concerned about the role Japan plays in world politics. The People's Republic of China welcomes any Japanese effort to contribute to the progress of peace.

At the same time, Zhang Xiangshan emphasized that further development of Sino-Japanese relations will be obstructed if some political issues are not settled. This famous Chinese political activist's remarks no doubt merit our attention.

Northeast Asia

Chebrikov-Led Delegation Tours Pyongyang Sights

LD0709200588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1047 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Pyongyang, 7 Sep (TASS)—Today the Soviet party and government delegation led by V.M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR State Security Committee, laid a wreath at the Taesong revolutionaries' cemetery and at the "Liberation" monument erected in Pyongyang in honor of the Soviet servicemen who fell in the battles to liberate Korea from the Japanese colonial yoke.

A wreath was also laid at the monument to the Korean people's volunteers who fell in the battles to repulse the U.S. imperialist aggression in Korea in 1950-1953.

On the same day, the Soviet guests visited the sights of the Republic's capital and its suburbs. The Soviet delegation toured Magende and went to Kwanbok Street—one of the major new building projects in Pyongyang, where they looked round the sports facilities located there.

DPRK Envoy Holds Anniversary Reception

LD0709232988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1615 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 7 Sep (Tass)—Kwan Qui-kyong, DPRK ambassador in the USSR, held a reception today to mark the 40th anniversary of the formation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Present at the reception were Italiy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Georgiy Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Sevolod Urakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; the heads of a number of ministries and departments; military leaders; and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations.

A delegation from the Korean-Soviet Friendship Society was present.

Stringent Security for Seoul Olympics

LD0809095488 Moscow TASS in English 0851 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Tokyo September 8 TASS—It is less than ten days now to go before the Seoul Olympics. Around Olympic structures in Seoul, hotels and other Olympics-associated places there are thousands of policemen and commandos, armed with submachine-guns. Patrols in green uniforms or camouflage suits, used in combat conditions, are keeping a vigilant eye over the situation in the Olympic Village and in the area of the international airport Kimpo which is receiving foreign athletes and officials.

Commandos with mine-detectors and specially trained dogs are exploring the press centre, its underground premises, are sounding the ground around.

Approaching one girl athlete, police checked her perfume for explosive qualities. Relevant security services are trying to see to it that the people being checked should not be irritated, they are asked to be tolerant since all precaution measures are in their interests. "Police are not accustomed to smile, but we are teaching them to do so, to be polite," said Hwan Gyu Woon [name as received], head of the security service of the Seoul organizing committee.

The South Korean authorities' security measures are unprecedented in the Olympic history, involving a total of 120,000 policemen and Army men. In the whole country armed forces of South Korea and the American troops, 42,000 men in all, deployed there, have been alerted.

But all security measures have not prevented two Japanese journalists from penetrating into the territory of the thoroughly-guarded Olympic Village, with its fence being as high as 3.5 metres. That incident has shocked officials and perturbed policemen and guards.

Tokyo Governor Comments on Talks With USSR

PM0709133988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Aug 88 First Edition p 3

[Interview with S. Suzuki, governor of Tokyo, by unnamed own correspondent: "USSR-Japan: There Should Be No Vacuum"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Before the delegation from the National Council of Japanese Governors flew out of Moscow, Governor S. Suzuki of Tokyo, head of the delegation, gave an interview to our correspondent.

[Correspondent] Mr Suzuki, the delegation you head has been participating in the 10th meeting of leaders of Soviet and Japanese local organs of power. Such a meeting was last held 9 years ago. Does the resumption of this tradition mark a definite change in the mood of Japan's politicians?

[Suzuki] I cannot say that relations at the interstate level are currently smooth. There are a number of unresolved political and economic problems. At the same time, both Japan and the Soviet Union are currently making joint efforts to further develop bilateral relations. I think that all this makes it possible to resolve a number of issues clouding our relations. At the same time, I would like to stress that when things get moving on an interstate level local organizations will have to continue international exchanges more persistently. Exchanges must not be left in a vacuum. In this sense our meeting was successful and fruitful.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion: Will there be any real improvements from this meeting, first and foremost in the sphere of trade and economic relations between the two countries?

[Suzuki] The main thing that we have gained from this meeting is fuller information on the position of Japan and the USSR in all spheres of bilateral relations—including trade and economic relations. The main obstacles have been determined. And this is the first and very important step toward eradicating those obstacles. Our delegation noted at the meeting that in recent years gross Japanese-Soviet trade turnover amounted to just 1 percent of all Japanese trade. The fact is that the structure of Japanese industry has changed sharply with the development of the economy. Soviet exports—primarily natural resources and energy sources—have lost their attractions for us. At the same time, the Japanese side's interest with regard to the large projects for opening up Siberia and the Far East has diminished. In particular, we are now more interested in exchanges of scientific developments.

Soviet Officials Discuss New Japan Policy

OW0709083588 Tokyo KYODO in English 0547 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Tokyo, Sept. 7 KYODO—Top Soviet foreign policy planners have admitted that the Soviet Union cannot ignore a long-standing territorial issue if it wants to improve its ties with Japan, according to a report reaching here Wednesday.

The report was contained in the July issue of "INTERNATIONAL LIFE" magazine issued by the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

A copy of the article made available to KYODO News Service on Wednesday chronicled details of the discussion that took place this summer among top Soviet foreign policy planners on the second anniversary of the Vladivostok speech made by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

The participants included Igor Rogachev, vice foreign minister and the man in charge of the Soviet Union's Asian policy, Lyudvig A. Chizhov, head of the Foreign Ministry's Pacific and Southeast Asian Affairs, and senior members of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

The discussion reportedly took place on the basis of recognition that the Soviet Union needed to establish a balanced Asian-Pacific policy instead of its past policy centering on Europe and slanting toward the United States.

Moscow has consistently rejected Japan's demand for the return of four "northern" islands off the major Japanese island of Hokkaido, insisting that no territorial issue existed between the two nations.

Successive Japanese governments have refused to sign a peace treaty with the Soviet Union unless it returned the islands it occupied at the end of World War II in 1945.

According to the report, the participants pointed out that there are three key difficulties confronting the Soviet Union in its policy toward Japan.

They are the territorial issue in bilateral relations, perception of a "Soviet threat" at the regional level, and the question of the Japan-U.S. alliance on the global level.

The Soviet foreign policy planners said, according to the report, that Moscow has made progress in its relations with the United States but has been in a standstill in its ties with Japan.

They said the "enemy image" is ingrained in the Japanese people and it is necessary for the Soviet Union to actively try to erase it.

They also termed obsolete the existing Soviet contention that the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty limits progress in Soviet-Japanese relations.

The report also said that a certain amount of glasnost (openness) is necessary in Soviet military affairs, adding that the Soviet military doctrine in the Asian-Pacific region must be made clear.

The participants said the Soviet Union has no intention of attacking Japan and proposed that Moscow unilaterally make public its military activities in the area around Japan.

The Soviet Union is represented very poorly in the Japan region both politically and economically, the Soviet experts said.

However, they said, a possible basic breakthrough in stagnated Soviet-Japanese relations may exist in the political arena.

The Soviet Union must craft a clear concept showing what it is looking for in its relations with Japan, the participants in the discussion said.

They pointed out that the Soviet Union has overlooked the fact that Japan has already become the world's second-ranking economic power.

The participants said relations with Japan are very significant for the Soviet Union and that their country should make all out efforts to establish goodneighborly relations.

Near East & South Asia

Gromyko Receives Moroccan Envoy on West Sahara

LD0709182888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1720 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 7 Sep (TASS)—A.A. Gromyko received Ahmed Osman, speaker of the Moroccan Chamber of Representatives (parliament) and personal representative of King Hassan II, in the Kremlin today. The high-ranking guest had flown to Moscow to hand over an urgent message from the king of Morocco to the Soviet leadership. The essence of the message consisted of an exposition of Rabat's position on the matter of a peaceful settlement for the Western Sahara.

It was noted during the conversation that the process of transferring conflict situations in various regions of the world onto the path of political peacemaking and the transformation of that process into a chain reaction of efforts to eliminate local centers of tension are having their beneficial influence on those regions in the world where military clashes are still going on.

The Western Sahara is one of them. The search for a compromise version of a settlement of disputed issues has been stepped up perceptibly. In 1975 Morocco announced that it was annexing the territory of the Western Sahara. At the same time the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saquiat al-Hamra and Rio de Oro (the Polisario Front) proclaimed there the establishment of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic and, with the support of Algeria, is waging an armed struggle for the independence of that territory.

This August both Morocco and the Polisario Front responded positively to the UN secretary general's proposal to hold a referendum among the indigenous population of the Western Sahara. An intensive political dialogue between Algeria and Morocco is currently assisting this process. All the Arab Mahgreb countries are embarking upon strengthening trust and mutual understanding and developing cooperation.

The Moroccan side notes the need to support the UN secretary general's efforts to establish peace in the region. For this, a number of issues must be resolved: a cease-fire; withdrawal of the Moroccan Army units located in the Western Sahara to the previously-stipulated places; and registration of the population which is to participate in the referendum on the future status of this territory.

On behalf of the king, A. Osman expressed Morocco's desire for a political solution of the conflict, and pointed out that this is part of the general peace-making process in the Mahgreb. He stressed that holding a referendum would lead to peace in the Western Sahara. Morocco considers it possible to organize such a referendum within the next 4 to 8 months.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership, A.A. Gromyko stressed that the Soviet Union has an interest in getting rid of tension in northwest Africa and ensuring that peace prevails. The Soviet side noted that relations are improving between Morocco and Algeria, and that is precisely the path which the two states can follow in the future with benefit for both. UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar is called upon to make a positive contribution to the cause of a peaceful settlement to this problem. His efforts have weight, and this is shown by the experience in preparing the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

A.A. Gromyko expressed satisfaction that Morocco's line is directed at conducting business at the negotiating table. Settling conflict situations by peaceful means is the consistent policy of the USSR and CPSU. The sense of it is constantly emphasized by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Of course, the sooner full agreement is reached on solving the problem, the better. Although one knows that sometimes such questions are not solved quickly, it is necessary to remain patient and insistently move toward the goal—the future agreement.

"If the plan for preparing a referendum and eliminating differences between the opposing sides does not hold, one surely does not have to grab a dagger, does one?" A.A. Gromyko asked the guest from Morocco, although the reply to question is implicit.

A.A. Gromyko and A. Osman exchanged views about the state and development of Soviet-Moroccan relations. These relations were given a positive appraisal, with both sides noting that there were considerable opportunities for expanding them, including parliamentary ties.

A.A. Gromyko: What the Soviet Union and Morocco are doing to develop bilateral contacts can be compared with the construction of a building—the more bricks that are laid, the more precisely their arrangement corresponds to the architect's design, and the more durable the walls themselves will be. The building will look better, too.

A. Osman: I fully agree with you. It is necessary to continue to build it.

In conclusion, on behalf of M.S. Gorbachev and on his own behalf, A.A. Gromyko conveyed best wishes to the king of Morocco.

The conversation passed in a spirit of frankness and friendship.

The king's emissary was accompanied by Ahmed Belhaj, a parliamentary deputy and deputy speaker of the Chamber of Representatives, and by Mehdi M'Rani Zentar, Moroccan ambassador to the USSR. The conversation was attended by V.P. Parkhitko, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Mine-Clearing Operation in Afghanistan Viewed

PM0809082788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[APN correspondent V. Ivanenko "Reportage From Afghanistan": "Assignment to a Mine Field"]

[Text] Kabul—In connection with the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, mine warfare has suddenly become one of the chief topics for the Western mass media. State Department spokeswoman Phyllis Oakley has declared that between 10 and 30 million Soviet mines were laid in Afghanistan. The Russians do not want to remove them. And it is this that poses the chief problem for the refugees' return.

On hearing this figure, Colonel Gennadiy Tereshchenko, chief mines specialist in the Soviet units stationed in Afghanistan, almost choked on the tea we were drinking in my room and said that Phyllis Oakley's credulity or imagination can only be envied. This is how the APN correspondent in Kabul begins his reportage for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. Whereupon he proposed a trip to a combat engineer unit stationed on the Kabul-Hayraton highway, which clears mines from roads, escorts convoys, and renders mine fields harmless. Here, in Kabul, it has become traditional for Soviet journalists to share any information with their Western colleagues—which, incidentally, is also a sign of the new thinking that has flowered on Afghan soil. Therefore, I waited for my colleagues working for a number of leading U.S., FRG, and British news organs, who had flown to Herat Province, and invited them to travel with me.

On the morning of 30 August, all wearing bullet-proof vests, we clambered onto the armor plating of personnel carriers and drove along the road linking the Afghan capital with the Soviet Union—the road in which the armed opposition has been showing heightened interest. The journey passed without incident and in a unit near Charikar the journalists were shown all the tricks the opposition uses in mine warfare. But first about the figures. Phyllis Oakley said that "the Soviet side has not been seen to make any serious attempts to remove mines in Afghanistan." It is probably all a question of how the word "serious" is interpreted and by whom. According to Col G. Tereshchenko's data, Soviet troops have already destroyed 1,518 mine fields. Between the start and end of the Soviet troop withdrawal it had been planned to hand over 613 mine fields to the Afghan side. Now that somewhat more than half the troops have been withdrawn, 314 mine fields have been handed over to the Afghans. Col Tereshchenko described the procedure for handing over the fields set up by the Soviet Army around sentry posts and economic facilities and in areas where the opposition attacks the Afghan side's lines of communication. These fields, one of which I was shown near the unit, are surrounded by a double row of barbed wire, with notices in Russian and Afghan, and have logbooks indicating the number of rows in the field, the distance between rows, the distance between mines in a row, and the type of mines. In other words, the location of every mine is known. If the Afghan side considers a mine field unnecessary, it is destroyed. If it retains its significance, all the documentation for the mine field is handed over to the Afghan side, and a special Soviet-Afghan group carries out reconnaissance, when its location is shown to the Afghans.

Colonel Gennadiy Belous, unit commander, described and showed how and why the other side lays mines and which ones. The chief danger, in his opinion, is posed by the total lack of system and thought in the way the opposition lays mines.

Mines are laid on country roads by irrigation canals and near villages. Mines are laid, particularly of late, at great depth so as not to be detected by combat engineers. Such mines explode after dozens of vehicles have passed over them, and it is quite impossible to predict what kind of vehicle will be blown up—military or civilian, Soviet or Afghan. There cannot, of course, be any question of mine-laying plans. This is a problem both for today and for the future.

The arsenal of mines and explosive devices shown to us reflected the more than wide geography of their manufacture—the United States, Italy, Sweden, Britain, Egypt, China, Pakistan. During our visit to the unit three mines launched from a mortar landed on its territory. We were told that these flying "gifts" are chiefly of Egyptian and Chinese manufacture. The most widespread and hard to detect are the Italian plastic-bodied TS-2.5 and TS-6.1, and also the Swedish M1-102 and the British MK-7. Pakistani mines are most frequently discovered in provinces bordering on Pakistan, and British ones in provinces bordering on Iran. The laying methods are most refined: A stone, for example, is placed on a mine. Combat engineers come along but, naturally, do not find it. Under pressure from the weight of a vehicle the stone presses on the mine, and there is an explosion. Or, for example, you can drive along an asphalt road, where you would think it impossible to place a charge. But in fact wires lead along cracks in the asphalt to contact detonators. The wheels of vehicles run over the detonator, and... a shell set up on the roadside is fired and hits the side of the vehicle.

In general, the enemy displays enviable inventiveness. But there is an antidote to every poison. We were told about instruments that find even nonmetallic mines and were shown how service dogs operate and how mine-clearing combat vehicles blow up mines laid by rebels. At the end of the conversation Col G. Tereshchenko staggered all present with the exactness of one figure: As of 30 August, Soviet troops had removed 237,737 mines laid by rebels. This is the last element of the tale about the mine war in Afghanistan and who is waging it. But on returning to Kabul we saw another picture characterizing the opposition. In front of us rebels had set fire to several Afghan civilian tankers. This means there will be problems at the city's gasoline pumps. You cannot help thinking that for many members of the Afghan opposition, who are supplied and armed by the West, the war has become an end in itself, a way of passing time, and a means of existence.

Afghan Protest Lodged With Pakistan

LD0709212488 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 7 TASS—Pakistan's charge d'affaires in Afghanistan was called to the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan today and was told that a plane of the Pakistani Air Force had intruded into Afghanistan's air space south-east of the Asmar District, and was making a reconnaissance flight over the Afghan territory, the BAKHTAR news agency reported. In this connection, the statement says, the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan makes a resolute protest and demands that the Pakistani leadership should keep from the repetition of such incidents in future.

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan sent today its 76th note of protest to the mission of the United Nations observers in Kabul. The BAKHTAR news agency reports that the document mentions facts of Pakistan's violation of the provisions of the Geneva accords and contains the request for a thorough investigation of these facts and for informing the Afghan side and a representative of the U.N. secretary-general of the results of the investigation.

Afghan Official on Pakistani 'Interference'

LD0709152588 Moscow TASS in English 1253 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 7 TASS—Flouting all international law norms, Pakistan is intensifying interference into internal affairs of Afghanistan, the BAKHTAR news agency has been told by a representative of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan. The statement was made in connection with Pakistan's spreading slanderous fabrications that Afghanistan's Air Force planes allegedly violated Pakistan's air space a few days ago.

It is not for the first time that the Islamabad administration resorts to such propaganda subterfuges in order to mislead the world public opinion, said the representative of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan. Pakistan's leadership resorts to such steps every time when the Pakistani side's yet another violation of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan is being discussed. During the Geneva negotiations Pakistan also used lies to suspend the negotiations.

As many as 75 notes of protest have been handed over to the U.N. mission in Kabul by now, noting 439 facts of Pakistan's violation of the Geneva accords, the statement underlines.

Afghan Army Defeats 'Opposition' Forces

LD0509133288 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 5 TASS—Jalalabad, the administrative centre of Afghan Province Nangarhar, has come under a fresh rocket attack. Thirteen rocket projectiles exploded in the residential areas of the city killing one man and wounding two others. BAKHTAR news agency reported that security forces managed to foil another shelling of the Afghan capital. They discovered four projectiles ready to be launched in Khaq Jabbar [name as received] District. A powerful explosive device was timely discovered by the security forces in one of Kabul's densely populated areas.

In the past few days units of the Afghan Army carried out several successful operations to eliminate detachments of the irreconcilable opposition. In Takhar Province local population helped destroy eleven extremists and seize weapons and ammunition. Twenty eight rebels were killed in hostilities in Provinces Konduz, Ghazni and Helmand. In Samangan the ring leaders of opposition detachments, Muhammad Yusuf and Mohammandulla [name as received], were taken prisoner.

In repulsing attacks on the security points in Nahr-e Saraj area, Helmand Province, 45 rebels were killed and 50 wounded. Some 3,000 rebels tried to capture Varishmin [name as received] area in Sorabi [name as received] district, Kabul Province. A counteroffensive by government troops pushed back the rebels by 40 kilometres.

A commission of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan-IPA was reported to have arrived from Peshawar for a visit to Hazarehjat area to inspect its detachments and solve contentious issues between IPA's armed groups and representatives of Hazaras [name as received] the indigenous population of Bamian Province.

Ammunition with chemical components for heavy types of weapons is issued to some IPA armed groups, as well as to the Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan. The ammunition has been delivered, in particular, to provinces Nangarhar and Qandahar.

The detachments of various factions of the Afghan opposition were locked in bloody battles in the past few days in Qarah Bagh District of Ghazni Province. According to reports reaching here, battles involving groups from IPA, the Movement for Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan, the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan and Nasr [Organization of Afghanistan] left tens of people killed and hundreds wounded. Also killed were Ghul Muhammad, commander of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan detachment, and two Arab advisers with an IPA group. Two more adivsers were taken prisoner by one of the warring groups. The enemy captured and destroyed the NASR organisation's provincial headquarters. As a result of the hostilities several peasants were killed and some 100 dwellings and 32 shops burned down. Internal fighting is intensifying with every day. Battles between the detachments of the armed opposition were held in the past week in provinces Parvan, Samangan, Laghman and Lowghar. The number of the rebels killed reached 30, according to incomplete data.

The main cause contributing to in-fighting are the conflicts over weapons supplied from Pakistan and Iran and property looted from the population, as well as squabbles over this or that territory. At the same time, many leaders of armed opposition groups hold various views on the prospect for continuing struggle with people's government if Pakistan halts military and political support for "the irreconcilable". Representatives of some antigovernment groups in provinces Balkh and Samangan propose to mark time temporarily. Ziaul Haq's death also threw into confusion the rebels operating in other regions of Afghanistan. In particular, low morales were reported among the armed groups in Vardak Province. Many rebels display growing anxiety over the fate of their relatives in refugee camps in Pakistan. They leave armed groups and head for Peshawar. On August 23 as many as 120 members of opposition groups left Vardak Province for Peshawar.

Security Forces Find Truck With Explosives

LD0709221188 Moscow TASS in English 1244 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 7 TASS—The security forces of the Republic of Afghanistan have prevented a terroristic act in the area of Pol-e Charkhi, a suburb of Kabul. 1.5 tonnes of explosives were discovered in a lorry which arrived at the Republic of Afghanistan from Pakistan. According to representatives of the security forces, the extremists planned the lorry to explode at a Kabul street. A blasting fuse ran to the driver's cabin from a secret place arranged in the lorry's body. According to the data available, the explosives, discovered in the lorry, belong to the Gulbuddin Hikmatyar Islamic Party of Afghanistan.

A jirgah of chieftains and representatives of tribes of the Paktia Province was held in Gardeyz, the administrative centre of the province. Questions of ensuring security in a number of settlements were discussed. The participants in the jirgah pledged support for the national reconciliation policy being carried out by the Afghan Government and the determination to prevent extremist subversive activity.

Over 200 Afghan citizens returned from Pakistan to the provinces of Qandahar, Kabul and Parvan on Tuesday. The local government bodies rendered repatriates material aid and assistance in providing them with housing.

One of the operations in the Takhar Province has been a major success of governmental troops. 63 rebels were killed and 120 were wounded in the course of combat actions against an armed opposition unit in the vicinity of Taloqan. A considerable quantity of weapons and ammunition was captured.

Afghan Army units hit a strike on amassed rebels in the Paghman District, the Kabul Province. A unit of 130 rebels was thus beat off out of the district with big losses. 28 extremists were liquidated in the Chelzin [name as received] settlement, Qandahar Province.

Armed clashes between various opposition groups are continuing in many areas of Afghanistan. Bloody clashes between units of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan and the Islamic Alliance of Afghanistan took place on Tuesday in the Kuhestan District of the Kapisa Province, the Arghandab District of the Qandahar Province, and in the Nangarhar Province.

U.S., Pakistan Continue Weapons Supplies

LD0609153188 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] The Soviet Union has supported Kabul's proposal for convening a meeting of the foreign ministers of Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Soviet Union, and the United

States, with the participation of the UN secretary general, in order to look into the implementation of the Geneva accords. Yuriy Solton comments:

Holding such a meeting is required by the current situation in Afghanistan. As you may remember, a stop to foreign interference in Afghanistan and the withdrawal of Soviet troops are the core of the Geneva accords, which came into effect on the 15th of last May. This is an integral package of agreements, which cannot exist without each other. But Washington and Islamabad have been obviously seeking to tear the Geneva package apart. The Soviet Union withdrew half of its troops from Afghanistan by 15 August, as it had promised. Meanwhile, interference in Afghanistan has not only failed to stop, but has become ever more intensive.

The Soviet Union has reacted with satisfaction to statements by Pakistan's new leadership that it is going to adhere to the Geneva accords. But Islamabad has failed to act on its words. Armed caravans keep going from Pakistan every day to bring weapons to the Afghan rebels. The arms supplies include American Stinger and British Blowpipe rockets, Italian antitank rockets Milan, heavy mortars of Spanish manufacture, and other military equipment. Armed opposition groups have been penetrating into Afghanistan to fire rockets on densely populated urban areas. These rocket terror attacks have been causing heavy casualties and destroying homes, schools, and mosques.

Now, what is the attitude to all this by the United States, which is supposed to act as a safeguard of the Geneva accords? Washington has not only stepped up arms supplies for the Afghan rebels through Pakistan, but also started direct ammunition deliveries to oppostion forces inside Afghanistan. Some sources say that the rebels have been receiving chemical weapons. Nothing can be farther from the compliance with the Geneva accords.

That Pakistan has refused to take part in the meeting of the countries-signatories to the Geneva accords is not surprising. What's really amazing is how shortsighted some politicians in Washington and Islamabad are, those who are reluctant to understand that the violation of the Geneva accords may have grave consequences.

Gerasimov Favors Improved USSR-Pakistan Ties
PM0609154088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 35, 28 Aug 88 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov by Vladimir Brodetskiy: "Pakistan After General Ziaul Haq"; date and place not given]

[Text] MN: What happened? The world press has various versions....

G.G.: News analysts come forward with the first classical investigator's question: Who profits? The late president had opponents at home and his policy was criticized abroad. The "conspiracy theory" is the most plausible. Not excluding a purely technical failure, this theory holds that it was a subversive act orchestrated by domestic and foreign agents. References have also been made to specific agents. The late president's brother living in Britain has referred to the Soviet Union. We resolutely condemn such absurd suggestions. I don't think they merit any serious comment. Experts, including US experts, want two weeks to complete their investigations. Let's be patient and wait. A more important issue is—what's ahead?

MN: That's my second question. Will the situation in Afghanistan improve?

G.G.: One can only guess at this point. In Kabul the Council of Ministers held an emergency meeting to discuss the possible impact of Gen. Ziaul Haq's death in the region and in Afghanistan. According to reports from Peshawar, the Afghan armed opposition based there is anxious about possible developments in Pakistan. Moreover, Gen. Akhtar Abdul Rehman, who for years supervised the transfer of US weapons to Afghan opposition units, was also aboard the ill- fated plane. Leaders of the armed opposition sent a 600-man "delegation" to the president's funeral in Islamabad. They are worried lest they be ignored during the transitional period.

Other people are worried too. The Wall Street Journal wrote: "President Ziaul Haq's death should set alarms clanging in the non-communist world". This US paper is concerned that Ziaul Haq's successor may be "less stalwart" in fighting against "Soviet expansionism". Especially since it thinks "the Soviets, no doubt, will be ready to test the new president's resolve". The newspaper's phraseology and reasoning smack of the cold war, which is especially disheartening today when there is a chance to improve the world situation.

The thesis about "Soviet expansionism" rings especially hollow as our troops are leaving Afghanistan. And most certainly, Moscow is not going to test a new president's resolve.

The US is clearly nervous. It rushed to appoint a new ambassador to Pakistan to replace the man who died with Ziaul Haq and has indicated that US-Pakistani relations could sour (Pakistan has four billion dollars in US economic and military aid coming to it over the next six years) if Pakistan refuses to transfer American weaponry to the Afghan rebels.

MN: Will Soviet-Pakistani relations improve?

G.G.: We favour such a change. We favour normal good-neighbourly relations with Pakistan and broader contacts in various spheres because we are convinced that this is in our mutual interests and will promote peace and stability in Asia.

It is, of course, up to the new leaders of Pakistan to charter their policy.

Life Aboard Persian Gulf Minesweeper Described
PM0709114088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 35, 28 Aug 88 p p 8-9

[Yuriy Teplyakov report: "Convoy. Our Special Correspondent's Report From The Persian Gulf"]

[Text] Have you ever walked around a mine-field? God forbid you ever should!

According to old Russian tradition, the convoy left at dawn. A tiny mine-sweeper was first, followed in wake by the M/S Nikolay Morozov and the M/S Novocherkassk. The huge dry cargo ships obey our small sweeper like children. They don't dare take one step off course without a command. Death awaits beyond the path carved by the military ship at any moment. At any moment!

Or at least that was what the warrant officer on duty told us when we got to the mine-sweeper that evening and lifejackets were brought to our cabin.

"Do you really think we'll need them?"

"At any moment. But if we hit a mine you won't have time to put them on. The ship will live 10-15 seconds after that. The only chance for survival are for those on the upper deck. They'll be thrown overboard by the shock wave".

We thought that this was the latest way of joking with newcomers, but later on it was officially confirmed—all of this was true, war had tested it more than once. For some reason after that we didn't want to stay in the cabin. We wanted to go up on deck.

Our course was due north. But "north" sounds like a joke. Here, just off the Indian ocean it is a "cool" plus 42 degrees Celsius, and near Kuwait plus 49 degrees Celsius. And the water is the same plus 38 degrees Celsius everywhere. The air is like a sponge soaked with hot water. The humidity is 100 per cent.

"It's all right—we can breathe," said Captain 3rd Class Viktor Polikhovskiy, pepping us up. He was stationed on the bridge. Here in the Persian Gulf he is the CO of a group of Soviet mine sweepers. Sounds just great, but there are only two of them. And both are getting on in years.

Soviet merchant ships sailed the Persian Gulf without any escorts until September 1986. They had nothing to fear because they were protected by the old written rule—a decades-old time-tested institution of neutrality. In accordance with the 1907 Hague Conventions, neutrality is a special legal state which specifies that neither the territory of neutral and other states that aren't at war, nor their military and merchant ships should be attacked. True, the 1909 declaration on the law of war on the seas allows those at war to stop the merchant ship of a neutral country on the high seas for a check. To stop! But not to attack and, of course, not to destroy.

And in September, the Iranian Navy machine-gunned the Soviet M/S Petr Yemtsov in the Strait of Hormuz. Commandos boarded the ship. The radioman saved the day. He managed to lock himself in and radioed about the attack and the ship's coordinates.

Soviet warships sailed into the Gulf and the first convoys began. There was no other way out. Imagine your ship suddenly being surrounded by landing ships and armed launches. What can a captain do? Only shoo his crew from port to starboard to escape machine-gun fire. Aboard the ship there aren't even sports, to say nothing of combat weapons—this is forbidden by the rules of international shipping.

Nikolay Sobolev, captain of the Nikolay Morozov, told me what they went through in May. They were on their way to the Port of Dammam unescorted. The route was a short one, and they thought that they would make it. It was quiet all around. And only a little bit was left to go when a high-speed launch carrying Islamic Revolution Guards appeared.

The distance was 40 or 50 metres. The gun crews stood armed, ready for anything.

"They probably would have shot us up, but we raised such a clamour over the radio that the entire Gulf heard us and rushed to our aid, including the Americans—'Sit tight, Captain, we're sending you up a 'copter!' This hullabaloo was what saved us. The launch sailed away. Since then, I haven't sailed without a convoy. I may have to wait one or two days, but I won't go out into the Gulf alone. Now that I'm following behind you, my mind is at peace and the crew is working normally."

Everything's normal out on our sweeper, as well. We're on the bridge. Here you don't stand just anywhere, only on specially designated spots where the floor under you is like a high-speed elevator on springs—this simple device will save your back if a mine goes off. Yes, the compression impact is sometimes that big.

From the left end of the bridge I looked astern. The sweeping buoys stay right on the ship's tail. We're ploughing a wide, deep furrow. It is slightly deeper than the one of the ships following us. The path for them is cleared. We're combing out all the military rubbish and other dirt. And even the mines that are just below the surface or are anchored will be cut by us and pulled into the trawl. And to be on the safe side, the silence on the bridge is broken by a signal from the sonar, as loud as a heartbeat. It can take in more than our buoys can.

My heart was beating normally when suddenly I heard the boyish voice of the sonar operator—"contact!"

Several seconds later—"Stable contact, five to port, distance...."

And in the space of a split second the bridge transforms completely. Reports pour in one after another. Then comes Viktor Polikhovskiy's order to the entire convoy:

"I'm on the eighth. 10 to the left!"

And the entire convoy moved 10 degrees to the left. We made it around the mine. For the time being we were safe.

What was out there right in front of us anyway? Something metallic? No doubt about it. Maybe a valve from an oil drill (there are plenty of them on the Gulf bed) or just maybe a mine. But we didn't have time to find out, we had to avoid it no matter what. Only the navigator would record the tiny dot on his map so as to avoid it on the way back.

I've seen quite a few such dots on his map. But he also has some circles—that's where ships sank. The gloomy statistics attest to the fact that a number of different states have lost ships in the Gulf since September 1980, all in all a total of 11 million tons displacement—which is almost half of all the merchant marine sunk in World War II. Only back then ships were sunk in all the oceans and seas.

But this is not all in the sad saga about the Persian Gulf. According to the Lloyd's insurance company, transport ships were attacked 178 times in the Gulf last year alone. And there were 108 deaths.

It is more of a graveyard than a Gulf. Thank God we don't have any graves there yet. And in order to keep it that way, the sweeper ploughs the hot sea without respite examining each spot on the water—be it a white plastic cup tossed overboard, or brown-coloured tortoises suddenly coming up for air. In the latter case, they very much resemble so-called "horned" contact mines. And it has happened that the signalmen have been mistaken taking them for mines. But it is better to be mistaken than not to see them at all.

Time goes by slowly. We're passing the most dangerous spot in the Gulf (Soviet seamen alone discovered and destroyed six mines here). The bridge is no longer silent. I hear a constant "contact from port", "contact from starboard", "contact steady", "under observation", "contact lost".

The convoy rocks from one side to another. But despite this, the ships obstinately make their way northwards. And we continue that way until it's dark, until the sun hides in the Arabian Desert, which was a red-hot breathing furnance on our portside the entire day. All at one the sky and sea become as black as an oil slick.

The convoy doesn't travel at night. The danger increases many times over. It is as hard to see a mine in the dark of the tropics as it is to see a black cat in a dark room.

It's not for nothing that they say the sea has a feminine, that is, unpredictable disposition. Yesterday the sea was like a mirror and quiet, but in the morning I didn't see the dawn. The portholes were submerged in waves. Our sweeper was now falling into an echoing darkness or felling to its side. It's impossible to stand, but it's horrible lying down. My head is buzzing and I'm seeing yellow circles. It's impossible to stand it, but there's no choice. A storm. True, it's only force 4 but it's no wonder they say that for a mine sweeper each force is equal to three.

Captain 2nd Class Vladimir Kovatev comes in and tries to calm us down.

"It'll end soon. During this season storms are short. Not like in winter. And we're here for 10 months at a time or more, sometimes. You get used to the sea. But being away from home, from the family—that's really tough. I've got four kids. How are they doing? We haven't had any mail in two months."

He brought some strong, hot tea. A sailor can tell you a lot, a whole lot on a stormy sea. How much frankness, doubts, pondering, grief, joy and offence I've seen and heard. They weren't complaining or demanding—people were simply sharing their daily life and fate.

I remember how Sergey Kozelko, the sweeper's mechanic, gave me a letter from home instead of an answer to my question "Why the sad face?" and himself disappeared in the engine room. The air there is like red-hot metal—about 60 degrees. Hell on earth!

And what's in the letter? With Sergey's permission I'll quote a few lines from it.

"My dearest Sergey! I'm writing to you from Sevastopol. I don't know, maybe I shouldn't be writing you about this, but my soul is so bitter and empty that I can't keep it to myself. I've been crying all day long. On June 8 I was told that we'd been given a flat. But at the last minute the commander didn't sign some paper or other. Because we live in a house for small families, and that's not a dormitory. They've confused me utterly. But one thing is clear: you shouldn't have gone on this cruise, because what I feared most of all would happen did—they deceived me since I'm here all alone. Dear God, what a pity. I'm full of pity for your 13 years of service, your lost teeth and grey hair. A man has over 10 long-range cruises to his record but doesn't have a flat. I'm all bloated up from crying. Okay. I'm through. I'll ask you for one thing, to do everything possible to make this cruise a

successful one; maybe then there'll be a chance, even a small one. Don't get too desperate, though I myself am half-dead. Lenka and I send hugs and kisses. We love you. Your Kozelkis."

It's not always easy for a sailor to be at sea. But he's in no hurry to get back to shore. More than a half, if not the majority, have no real home there. This is one very tough problem for the Navy. And how long have we kept silent about this, talking only about the romance of long cruises? I kept quiet, too, although only two years back when I was in the Mediterranean, officers described their terrible quarters in the Arctic—barracks, no water and a housing wait of 10-15 years.

How do you explain this to your children, your relatives? And they sighed, saying "You won't write about it, anyway."

I didn't write about it at the time, but now I'll repent at least a drop of my sin by telling about the unusually hard service of Soviet sailors in the Persian Gulf. I realize that the sea and air in the Gulf will always feel hot for us northerners. You can't change nature. But how can a base ship be sent to these parts for nearly a year without air conditioners, when it's nearly impossible to breathe not only in the engine room but also in the bunkroom? Nearly impossible. Our young people, our boys live on this "nearly".

On our sweeper I saw how sailors were pulled to the Japanese air-conditioner like butterflies to light—they put their faces into the stream of cool air and took a deep breath.

And I couldn't imagine what it would be like if this air conditioner weren't there. But on some ships it isn't. And then what? Then sometimes even young, strong hearts can't take it.

I asked Aleksandr Karlin, a senior political worker, if he was aware of the sad situation on the ship.

"Yes, I am. The question is being discussed."

A familiar tune.

Some questions are "being discussed", and others have already been "solved:. I'll never forget the joy and even pride when I brought the sailors the good news from the embassy in Abu Dhabi—the question of our warships taking their leave in the United Arab Emirates had been completely settled. "I was told this by Consul Viktor Domrachev himself," I said. I thought the seamen would be happy, but they just laughed.

"We've been fed the same yarn for two years now," Captain 1st Class Yuriy Ustimenko explained. "OK, we don't need to put into port. That's for the Americans. Let them at least deliver our mail. We'd be grateful enough just for that."

But there is no mail. And the U.S. ships (our sailors know this all too well) get letters from the States the 2nd or 3rd day, faster than a letter travels from Moscow to Leningrad. Doesn't it hurt? Sure it does, and how! But our sailors keep silent.

Likewise they are silent about the fact that they are getting so very little for their hard and dangerous work. Not roubles, but kopeks. Even though they are far from being parasites. Soviet tankers chartered by Kuwait regularly bring our country millions of dollars thanks to their efforts alone. Isn't it possible to put aside at least a few thousand for our Navy out of these millions? This is only logical in our time of cost accounting.

There are problems with vegetables, problems with "zero" information and a host of other questions. But the answer, taken from Navy Regulations, is always the same: "...To steadfastly endure all difficulties and trials."

Or the following answer, given by a representative of the Navy General Staff: "Various additional measures for improving the living and working conditions of our personnel on the sea and on shore are being reviewed."

That goes for all sailors. And for the ones in the Persian Gulf:

"At present, additional measures are being worked out for the moral and material encouragement of the personnel serving and successfully solving problems in the Persian Gulf...."

Service in the Gulf, God willing, is nearly over, but the "additional measures" are still being worked out. Obviously, something here is not quite right.

At war they shoot sometimes as they do at war. At 10.07 the radioman picked up a SOS. An Iranian launch had attacked a Norwegian tanker. It was asking for help. This all happened near Abu Musa Island. That's where high-speed launches reign supreme. It is the most worrisome spot. But we can't leave the convoy. Trouble always comes in pairs. Soon we receive a new message: A Filipino tanker exploded. Reasons unknown. The crew deserted. A French warship saved seven people. The search for the others continues. Some day!

An hour later our signalman reports: "High-speed launch, 50 cables's lengths to port."

How did it get here? From an oil platform, or maybe from a landing ship?

It's behaving rather strangely: circling, turning and finally changing its course. Our CO put the artillery crew on the port gun just to be on the safe side.

The distance—16 cable's lengths. General Alert! Where are we? Ah, near Kharq Island. Ships are getting closer. We wait. And then tensions ease up—the launch is carying a U.S. flag. In other words everything's all right.

We don't have any problems with the Americans. They warn us in time, and greet us in time, too. The Italians are sometimes overnervous. But you shouldn't be nervous. Because the Gulf is overcrowded. I've seen that for myself.

Near Kuwait, when we put our ships into port to unload and were waiting to escort them back, there was a real merry-go-round going on around us. There were as many ships as there are cars during rush hour in a big city. Tankers, each carrying 250,000 tons of oil, were moving in from the north. And empty tankers were coming in from the south. A U.S.-mine-sweeper was literally pushing us away from a navigation buoy. U.S. armoured boats were darting hither and thither, a cruiser and a frigate were also hovering nearby. U.S. helicopters, taking off from oil platforms or landing ships or a destroyer approached us from behind. It wasn't clear whether they wanted to scare someone or were a bit scared themselves.

Going home is always easy and pleasant, especially when the way has been cleared by your own trawler.

Near the Strait of Hormuz we didn't meet a single warship and weren't buzzed by planes even once. Why? Maybe, peace really has come to these shores? If it's quiet on land, it will be quiet on sea, too. After all, the sea is only the echo of earthly joy and grief.

International Conference Key to Mideast Peace

OW0609114588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1035 GMT 5 Sep 88

[From the "World Today" program, presented by Viktor Lyubovtsev]

[Text] Hello comrades. As each new week begins it becomes obvious that most of the significant international events are a continuation of those of previous days and weeks, and at times even months. The Palestinian uprising on the Israeli occupied lands belongs precisely to this category of political events. [video shows occupied territories, Palestinians, armed Israeli troops]

This uprising has already been going on for 9 months. It is not subsiding despite the cruel terror perpetrated by the invaders. According to the PLO, which is unquestionably the leader of the uprising, tens of thousands of peaceful citizens of Gaza and the West Bank of the Jordan River have become victims of Israeli repression. Since the first mass demonstrations, 435 Palestinians have been killed, 23,000 have been wounded, and some 30,000 have been thrown into Israeli jails and concentration camps.

By the way, these figures are up to 2 September. By now, no doubt, the number of victims has grown even more. Despite this the invaders have not been able to subdue the flames of wrath of the Palestinian people who are demanding freedom and independence.

The support of the Arab countries and the world public opinion is on the side of the Palestinians, and so is that of the overwhelming number of UN member countries. These countries as does ours, speak out in favor of holding an immediate international Middle East conference with the participation of the PLO, the sole lawful representative of the oppressed people of Palestine. Even in Israel itself, where the government continues to reject the holding of such a conference, the sober voices of social and political figures supporting the peaceful solution of the problem at an international forum under UN auspices, are being increasingly heard.

Political experience shows that this is the best, and in essence, the only path to the solution of regional conflicts. The methods of using force, of making separate deals behind people's backs, can only lead the situation into a dead end. This is indeed what happened to the infamous Camp David Accord signed 10 years ago between Israel and Egypt with direct U.S. participation, with the fanfare of the former leaders of the three countries—Al-Sadat, Begin, and Carter—posing for the photographers. Even that far back the Arab world realistically appraised this agreement as a betrayal by Al-Sadat, who sold, as it was said then, the common cause of struggle against the Israeli aggressors for the liberation of all occupied territories, for a handful of sand from the Sinai dessert. Life has shown that the Camp David deal has not brought peace to anyone in the region, including Israel.

Sub-Saharan Africa

CPSU Delegation Arrives for Malagasy Congress

PM0709132188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS "Official Announcement"]

[Text] Antananarivo, 5 Sep—A CPSU delegation headed by M.S. Mendybayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Alma-Ata Kazakh Communist Party Obkom, arrived today in the Democratic Republic of Madagascar. The delegation has been invited to attend the 11th Congress of the Congress Party for Malagasy Independence.

CPSU Greets Congress

PM0809094388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee greetings message to Madagascar party congress; undated]

[Text] To the 11th Congress of the Congress Party for Malagasy Independence [AKFM]:

The CPSU Central Committee sends cordial greetings to the delegates to the 11th AKFM Congress.

Your congress coincides with a portentous date—the 30th anniversary of the founding of the AKFM. During the 3 decades of its activity, the AKFM has proved itself a staunch fighter against imperialism and reaction, colonialism and neocolonialism. Today, together with other patriotic forces, despite all the difficulties and obstacles, it is marching in the vanguard of the struggle for Madagascar's development along the path of genuine independence and social progress.

The AKFM's internationalist positions on the most important problems of the present day and its contribution to the struggle for a nuclear-free and nonviolent world have won it deserved respect in the international arena. We value the AKFM's efforts aimed at strengthening friendship and cooperation between our countries' peoples.

We express confidence that cooperation and solidarity between the CPSU and the AKFM will continue to strengthen for the good of the Soviet and Malagasy peoples and in the name of world peace and progress.

We wish the delegates to the 11th AKFM Congress successful and fruitful work.

CPSU Central Committee

CPSU Group Attends Ghana Friendship Rally

PM0809090188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Friendship Rally"]

[Text] Accra, 4 Sep—A CPSU delegation headed by G.A. Posibeyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Mari CPSU Obkom, has taken part in a Ghanaian-Soviet friendship rally held in the city of Ho. The delegation is visiting Ghana in accordance with the plan for ties between the CPSU and the republic's Provisional National Defense Council.

Addressing the rally, Richard Segla, regional secretary for Volta District, rated highly the peace-loving foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet Government. The USSR's policy is a guarantee of peace for the developing countries, he said.

The CPSU delegation head stressed that it is important for all states, great and small alike, to actively support security and disarmament in the world. It is necessary to halt the arms race, ban nuclear weapons tests, and prevent the deployment of nuclear weapons in space, he said. The USSR and Ghana work together in the struggle for these noble goals.

The CPSU delegation met with Harry Mbea, administrative secretary of the Ghanaian Trade Union Congress, who stressed that the republic's working people are attentively following the profound transformations taking place in the Soviet Union. Restructuring means the broadening of socialism and society's further development along the path of true democracy, he noted.

Sao Tome Foreign Minister Visits Kiev 27-28 Aug

AU0709134988 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 30 Aug 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "A Visitor to Kiev"]

[Text] On 27-28 August Carlos A.D. Graca, minister of foreign affairs of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, was in Kiev. He had a visit with V.A. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR minister of foreign affairs.

The Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave a luncheon in honor of Carlos A.D. Graca.

The guest visited the Ukrainian State Museum of the Great Patriotic War 1941-45 memorial complex, looked at exhibits in a number of museums, toured the city, and familiarized himself with the city's architectural and historical places of interests.

East Europe

Shishlin Interviewed on Polish Crisis

PM0809072088 Paris LE MONDE in French 7 Sep 88 pp 1, 4

[Report on interview with Nikolay Shishlin, head of international information at the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, by Bernard Guetta in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] Moscow—The Soviet leadership sees the contacts established between General Jaruzelski and Mr Walesa as "proof" of the Polish leadership's "realism" and would not veto a return to trade union pluralism in Poland.

This theoretical position, announced on Monday, 5 September, by Nikolay Shishlin, head of international information at the Central Committee Propaganda Department, is a marked encouragement to the continuation of the dialogue that has just started in Warsaw. However, it does not mean that Moscow has decided to support moves to legalize Solidarity once again. The Kremlin is determined to allow Gen Jaruzelski to play this card if he deems it necessary to do so; it is equally determined not to press him to do so and to leave him to shoulder his own responsibilities.

"We are, of course, closely following the latest developments," Mr Shishlin told us, "but in any event, we think that the Poles are better informed about the situation in their country than we are, and that it is up to them to

make any decisions." "We are ready to learn from this situation," he continued, "because we too are seeking ways of stabilizing our situation, notably in the economic sphere, and because we too are facing the question of price reform, and our economists will understand more clearly the need for caution in this sphere in the light of the Polish events."

In other words, if we do not have any ready-made solution ourselves, we certainly do not have one for Poland, where "pluralism is so highly developed," Mr Shishlin said with a smile, "that you need at least three interlocutors to understand what is happening—a Catholic, a second Catholic, and a third Catholic."

In this confused situation, the Soviet leadership is particularly unlikely to try to impose a solution because it does not want to "overdramatize" the Polish situation, as it is characterized by the leadership's "realism" and the population's "desire for harmony."

The leaders, Mr Shishlin said, "do not think that the decisions they are having to make are final decisions; they admit that they have made a considerable number of mistakes, they are constantly seeking new ways, they are still paying close attention to the workers' demands, and they are trying to involve all the forces in the country in their national renewal process." "In this sense," the Soviet official added, "the recent talks between Gen Kiszczak (the Polish interior minister) and Lech Walesa are good evidence of this realism, which we welcome."

With regard to Polish society, "all sections are convinced that they need a free, developing, and stable Poland, and we will always welcome any normalization of the situation because we will see it as a strengthening of our socialist partner and our alliance."

But what would the Soviet reaction be if this normalization brought a return to trade union pluralism in Poland in the short or medium term? He replied: "The CPSU does not have the right of veto in Polish internal affairs and, in fact, it is not the CPSU's view that matters, but the realities of the situation, and they rule out a mere repetition of the 1980 events...." "We would not be afraid if Solidarity reemerged," Mr Shishlin said, adding that "the men who participated in Solidarity are now capable of playing a more important role."

Does this mean that, ideologically speaking, the CPSU does not think that trade union pluralism conflicts with Marxism-Leninism?

"Marxism-Leninism is not the highway code but a theology produced by the realities of life, which are themselves changing," Mr Shishlin replied. "Read it and you will not find any definition of the forms that trade unionism should take. No, from the viewpoint of our religion, trade union pluralism is not heresy."

[Guetta] Is a return to this pluralism in Poland not likely to prompt Soviet wage-earners to follow this example in the coming periods of social and economic problems?

[Shishlin] Anything is possible; social life can undergo very different developments. That is why we want to maintain the party's vanguard role to ensure that it can make the necessary choices.

Political Reform [subhead]

[Guetta] Does this mean that when you spoke of the lessons you are learning from the Polish situation, you were also thinking of the forms which the trade union movement should take?

[Shishlin] I was thinking primarily of economic reform and of the way to prevent it from damaging any section of society. But the most important instrument for the success of this economic reform is the reform of the political system. This was frequently stated during the conference (the CPSU conference last June), but we must not make the mistake of thinking that the decisions which were made there are our final word. They are our first word, and other reforms will follow. [Shishlin ends]

If the Soviet leadership remains calm about developments in Poland, are you not afraid that they are prompting in the other European socialist countries? [sentence as published] "I do not think," Mr Shishlin retorted quickly, "that Nicolae Ceausescu, for instance, is ready to give Poland fraternal aid."

[Guetta] What about Mr Honecker?

[Shishlin] I do not think he is prepared to do so either.

[Guetta] However, several of your allies might fear contagion from Poland once again?

[Shishlin] This is not the problem. Everybody has his own virus—a Soviet virus, a Czechoslovak virus, a Romanian virus, and so forth. They may be different viruses all causing influenza, but each has his own virus. Of course, societies are not closed. They influence each other, and that is why it is in the interests of each socialist country to ensure that things go well within its borders.

"It is wrong," Mr Shishlin said, "to see chain reactions in major upheavals. They are, in fact, lasting phenomena which start and continue, before leading to new eras. The renewal process in the socialist world is a comprehensive process and, as such, will take some time. We were not the first to start this process.... And that is why we do not want to try to teach others but, instead, we want to be industrious students of the Poles, among others."

Does Moscow think that the Polish leadership is prepared to accept a return to trade union pluralism? "The Polish authorities do not want a parallel trade union at

present," Mr Shishlin replied, pointing out with great caution that this position is apparently no longer receiving unanimous support in official circles in Warsaw.

IZVESTIYA on Aftermath of Polish Strikes

PM0609143088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov "Letter From Warsaw": "The Hotbeds of Tension Still Glow"]

[Text] The following figures were cited at the weekly press conference by the Polish Government press spokesman: 17,299,000 people are employed in Poland, and 3,120 took part in the illegal strikes. That is 0.18 percent! A negligible quantity, you would think, and one that no particular attention need be paid to.

Alas, not so. It is not a question of numbers, but of the fact that these people, led by the ringleaders of the illegal "Solidarity," occupied a number of the most important enterprises in major voivodships and prevented tens of thousands of people from working. Coproduction links with other enterprises were thereby disrupted and Polish plants, factories, and mines lost trade partners abroad.

It is known that the strikes have stopped at the Gdansk shipyard, the "Stalowa Wola" combine, the port of Szczecin, and the "July Manifesto" mine in Jastrzebie. But that does not mean that the tension has disappeared. The tactics now being used by the political adversary are designed to ensure that the strike terror constantly worries and alarms the authorities. The adversary, as M. Rakowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, told us during a meeting with foreign correspondents, is doing everything to hold up talks and wreck them on any pretext.

The result of the illegal strikes is lamentable: The country's national economy has suffered enormous and largely irremediable material losses. But that is not all. There is no way to calculate the moral and psychological losses attendant on the disorders unleashed by illegal structures of the former "Solidarity." The strike at the "Stalowa Wola" metallurgical plant—part of a combine that has significance in the sphere of defense—ended tragically. Here fighters from the underground "Solidarity" shot militia officer Mieczyslaw Turbakiewicz, who was serving with his comrades on the enterprise's territory. He was the victim of a raging crowd of strikers among whom were several priests from the local parish. Lieutenant M. Turbakiewicz's funeral was attended by 4,000 inhabitants of Tarnobrzeg, indignant at the criminals' acts of violence.

The "mechanism" of the strikes is indicated eloquently too by the events that occurred at the "July Manifesto" mine. Some 250 occupiers, headed by people from outside—former "Solidarity" extremists like Jedynak and Lis—prevented thousands of miners from going to work; nonetheless, the group of fighters melted away (every night those who were tired of passing themselves off as dubious heroes deserted).

...In the morning there was a glimmer of hope: Talks were promised between the administration and the strikers. A few minutes passed, and the director and his assistants came back empty-handed. It turned out that the other side had produced a new portfolio: It had started calling itself not the "strike committee," but the provisional "Solidarity" committee. The intention was simple: The administration would not talk with representatives of an illegal organization. Director K. Grzywa said he would only deal with miners.

Soon after that, the strikers handed over a letter containing 31 demands, mainly of a political nature. They were not putting forward terms, they were dictating them. No compromise...

How did the majority of miners, who were forced to remain without work and therefore without full wages, react to the outrages? This was perhaps an unprecedented case: They sent a complaint to Warsaw, to Professor J. Lentowska, plenipotentiary for citizens rights of the Polish Sejm. "Standing at the gates of the mine, which has been inactive for 2 weeks now because of an illegal strike," the miners write, "we seek with growing concern ways of removing the barriers and securing our right to work, a right guaranteed by the Constitution and the Labor Code. Why is this right violated with impunity by a handful of adventurists? Who allows our rights to be violated, and why?"

The illegal "Solidarity" continues to flout state laws. H. Plocha, director of a state farm in Bydgoszcz, speaking at the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, called it the party of "strikes." The activity of this "party" at the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port complex was described at that same plenum by port team leader K. Cichocki. The strike explosion, in his view, was an attack on the economic reform. A few years ago, the team leader went on, I myself was chairman of the strike committee here. But then the strike was a workers protest. Today it is something entirely different: a carefully planned action by politickers who do not like the sociopolitical transformations in the country.

Yes, the Republic's party and state leadership is doing much in these turbulent days to extinguish the flames of the conflict that has done tremendous damage to the national economy and is violating social harmony and order. The country's prestige in the international arena has also been damaged. The government, examining the conclusions drawn from the materials of the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, is drawing up a plan for stabilizing the economy and outlining measures to improve market supplies and credit and finance policy. From now on enterprises working inefficiently cannot count on support from the bank and the state budget. Prices and payments discipline is being tightened up.

The structure of ministries and departments will be reviewed again with a view to improving their functioning and eliminating bureaucratic distortions.

The "roundtable" idea proposed by Polish Minister of Internal Affairs C. Kiszczak is acquiring real form. Its aim is to broaden dialogue with representatives of all strata of society and create a broader platform of national consensus. The minister had a meeting with a number of people, including L. Walesa.

Prior to the fall session of the Polish Sejm, its extraordinary commission for monitoring the implementation of economic reform has commenced work. It will analyze the government's activity in light of recent events.

Polish Politburo Analyzes Problems, Issues
LD0809091988 Moscow TASS in English 0656 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw September 8 TASS—The increased activity of power bodies at all levels with a view to normalising the situation in the country, to ensuring national concord and to expediting economic reforms is the call of the times, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) emphasised at its regular meeting.

Quite a number of questions which are of importance to the national economy require a speedy solution. A particularly great responsibility rests with party organizations and first of all with the party members who perform important managerial functions in the state and the economy.

Having underlined the need to reappraise the previous methods of the party work, the Political Bureau pointed out that some party organizations had lost dynamism and contact with non-party people, and slackened propaganda work, were not always able to issue a resolute rebuff to attitudes which are hostile to socialism, and it was not everywhere that actions which cause damage during strikes were rebuffed.

The party, the Political Bureau stressed, cannot for a minute slacken the rhythm of work, vigour in the dialogue with society, and efforts in the name of concord the attainment of which is a great chance to our people. The termination of strikes, the Political Bureau pointed out, created conditions necessary for a round-table meeting of as wide as possible circle of representatives of forces which stand on the positions of constitutional order and which are aiming to improve social relations in Poland. At such a round-table meeting, it is essential to start a discussion on issues which are most important to the country.

Talyzin, Romania's Andrei Open Exhibition
PM0609151588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Deepening Fruitful Cooperation"]

[Text] The Romanian and Soviet state flags were raised over one of the largest pavilions at the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements. The opening ceremony of the national exhibition "Romania-88" took place here on 29 August. The exhibition is intended to reflect the successes of the fraternal country, which is celebrating the 44th anniversary of the antifascist, anti-imperialist revolution and its social and national liberation. This year's Romanian national exhibition is the fifth public showing by our Romanian friends in the Soviet capital. Its ceremonial opening was greeted by thousands of Muscovites and guests in the Soviet capital. N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, took part in the ceremony. Also present were members of the Romanian delegation led by S. Andrei, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government, and I. Bucur, Romanian ambassador to the Soviet Union.

On behalf of Soviet foreign trade organizations, V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Presidium, greeted the Romanian friends and wished the exhibition success.

The floor was given to N.V. Talyzin.

On behalf of the Soviet Government he cordially greeted the Romanian comrades. The exhibition, the speaker said, is opening soon after celebrations of Romania's day of liberation from the fascist yoke, the 44th anniversary of its antifascist, anti-imperialist revolution and social and national liberation, which made it possible for the country to embark on a new path—the path of building a socialist society in Romania.

Socialism has become firmly established on Romanian soil and is now the cornerstone and the heart of its people's world outlook and public consciousness.

From the rich palette of colors which now depict the face of socialist Romania, this exhibition reveals the picture of the Romanian working people's real results and successes achieved during the years of building a new society. They graphically demonstrate the increased potential of the Romanian national economy and indicate its great possibilities. Soviet people pay great attention to the life of the fraternal Romanian people and the processes of building socialism in Romania.

Soviet-Romanian cooperation is multifaceted. It includes political, legal, economic, cultural, and other ties. Our mutual desire to increase and enrich bilateral relations is finding broad response and support from our countries' millions of communists and working people. Our readiness and determination to continue further along the path of strengthening friendship was convincingly demonstrated by the results of the meeting between the leaders of the two fraternal parties—M.S. Gorbachev and N. Ceausescu—in May 1987 in Bucharest.

Soviet-Romanian economic cooperation is distinguished by the mutual desire to ensure that it steadily, constantly develops and corresponds to the fundamental interests and requirements of the two countries' economies. For many years the Soviet Union has been a leading trade partner of Romania. Our bilateral economic relations are growing. Broad new opportunities for cooperation are opening up as a result of developing the process of all-round restructuring in our country and in the course of implementing the 19th party conference decisions. This includes broad production cooperation and specialization and the introduction of effective new forms of cooperation. It also includes the establishment of direct production ties, the formation of joint enterprises, scientific collectives, science and production associations, and so forth.

Examples of this direct collaboration are: Romanian participation in the construction of a mining combine at Krivoy Rog in the Soviet Union, the development of natural gasfields in Sovetabad (the Turkmenian SSR), and cooperation in the construction of a transit gas pipeline on Romanian territory.

The decisions of the 44th CEMA session also create favorable conditions for deepening economic collaboration between our countries. The collective concept of the international socialist division of labor for the period 1991-2005 approved at the session will make it possible to more fully exploit the potential for economic cooperation between socialist countries.

While developing their relations, our countries attach great significance to the task of strengthening the unity and cohesion of socialist community countries and consolidating socialism's positions in the world. Their intentions are inseparable from the ideals of socialism, which aim to achieve peace, a comprehensive international security system, disarmament, and broad international cooperation. These aims are served by the new initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states recently proposed at the Political Consultative Committee Conference in Warsaw.

We are confident, the speaker noted, that the exhibition will demonstrate to Soviet people the successes achieved by the Romanian people while building socialism, show the level reached by your economy at the present time, and serve the further development and deepening of Romanian-Soviet economic, scientific, and technical cooperation.

On behalf of the Soviet Government N.V. Talyzin congratulated the Romanian friends on the opening of the exhibition and wished it success in the task of strengthening friendship between the Romanian and Soviet peoples.

S. Andrei then spoke. Emphasizing that the opening of the exhibition is a new and important feature in the constant development of the traditional relations of close friendship and cooperation between our countries and peoples, between neighbors and friends, he conveyed warm, friendly greetings to the CPSU and M.S. Gorbachev from the RCP and N. Ceausescu, its secretary general.

The "Romania-88" national exhibition, the speaker said, is the biggest event we are organizing abroad this year. It is being held in the context of the 44 years that have passed since the victory of the antifascist, anti-imperialist revolution and our social and national liberation—a major act in history, which opened the way to the Romanian people's ideals and desire for justice and freedom and to the creation of a socialist system in our country.

The exhibition we are opening today reflects achievements of historic significance attained by the Romanian people under Communist Party leadership in the process of effecting revolutionary transformations in Romanian society. It has a powerful, modern industry, socialist agriculture is developing to the full, and the people enjoy a high standard of prosperity and civilization.

In past years the RCP has made decisions of historic significance with the people and for the people. They are designed to ensure the harmonious, rapid development of industry, agriculture, and all other sectors of the national economy, the balanced distribution of production forces throughout the country, constant improvement in the organization and management of society, and the powerful development of revolutionary workers democracy. Our party has initiated major measures to enhance the role of the socialist state in creating a new society, improving the social structure, and constructively resolving all problems connected with the creation of socialism in Romania in harmony with the fundamental interests of the entire nation.

All this has been achieved by consistently implementing the political course of the ninth party congress. The party and the state have approved a vital program to ensure further improvement in the material and spiritual life of the nation.

Closely rallied around the party and its secretary general, Comrade N. Ceausescu, our people are firmly striving to steadily implement the historic decisions of the 13th congress and the national party conference, resolve the strategic tasks of bringing Romania to the stage of a country with an average level of development in the 1986-1990 5-year period and implementing the program to create a comprehensively developed socialist society by the year 2000, and broadly establish communist principles of life and work.

While implementing its programs, Romania also attaches great significance to developing international economic relations and production cooperation with other states.

Discussing the development of Romania's foreign economic ties, the speaker noted that relations of broad collaboration and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union are of paramount importance. These relations are soundly based on the principles of full equality, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit, solidarity, and comradely mutual assistance. The Soviet Union occupies first place in the total volume of Romania's foreign economic relations. Reciprocal trade is growing and production cooperation and specialization are developing successfully.

The speaker emphasized the important role played by meetings between RCP and CPSU leaders in the development of cooperation between our countries.

The long-term program for the development of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between Romania and the Soviet Union for the period through 2000, he said, provides the optimum framework for expanding relations in line with the increasing potential of the two countries' national economies. The achievements of the Romanian people and the successes of the Soviet peoples in creating a harmonious, comprehensive economy, provide firm foundations for accelerating relations of cooperation between our countries for the sake of socialism and communism and in the interests of strengthening peace and international cooperation.

In conclusion, S. Andrei expressed confidence that the "Romania-88" national exhibition will give new impetus to Romanian-Soviet economic, scientific, and technical cooperation. He thanked the Soviet Government for its support in staging the Romanian national exhibition in Moscow.

The exhibition was declared open. The Romanian and Soviet national anthems were played.

After visiting the exhibition, N.V. Talyzin signed the guests of honor book, in which he noted the fraternal country's successes in all spheres of the economy, science, and culture.

A meeting took place between N.V. Talyzin and S. Andrei in the Kremlin the same day.

During the conversation, which proceeded in a warm, friendly atmosphere, the sides exchanged opinions on some questions of developing economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Romania in the course of implementing the accords reached during the Soviet-Romanian summit talks in May 1987. In this connection they noted the great importance of improving the effectiveness of economic, scientific, and technical ties, deepening production specialization and cooperation, and using new, progressive forms of cooperation in their mutual interests.

It was emphasized that further strengthening economic collaboration between the Soviet Union and socialist Romania will help to solve socioeconomic tasks and improve the well-being of the two countries' peoples.

N.V. Talyzin gave a luncheon in honor of the Romanian delegation taking part in the ceremonial opening of the Romanian national exhibition. Brief speeches were exchanged.

Ceausescu, 'Arafat Discuss Conference Idea

PM0709103488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Conference Necessary"]

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Sep—Under present-day conditions it is necessary to step up efforts to convene an international conference on the Near East under UN auspices, with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO—the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—Israel, and the permanent members of the Security Council. This was stated at a meeting held here between N. Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP and president of Romania, and Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

In the course of the meeting Y. 'Arafat spoke about new elements in the development of the situation in the Near East and the actions undertaken by the PLO to resolve the complex problems that exist. N. Ceausescu reaffirmed the Romanian people's determination to continue to give all support to the Palestinian people's struggle for the implementation of their legitimate rights. He also pointed to the need for new initiatives and actions designed to contribute to the stage-by-stage settlement of problems by means of talks. He came out in favor of establishing a universal, just, and lasting peace in the region on the basis of the withdrawal of all Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, the resolution of the Palestinian people's problems through recognition of their right to self-determination, including the creation of an independent Palestinian state, and the safeguarding of the integrity, sovereignty, and security of all states in the region.

Ceasescu, Dascalescu Greet Leading Soviet Bodies

PM0609085688 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[Message from Romanian President Ceausescu and Prime Minister Dascalescu to Soviet leadership bodies thanking them for greetings on national day]

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee

To the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To the USSR Council of Ministers

Esteemed comrades!

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and Government of Romania, all the Romanian people, and on our own account we send to the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers, as well as to the peoples of the Soviet Union, warm thanks for the congratulations and wishes sent to us on the occasion of Romania's national holiday—the 44th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation on 23 August 1944.

The Communists and working people of Romania, making every effort to fulfill the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and national conference, attach particular significance to the all-around development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the CPSU and between our countries and peoples on the firm foundation of respect for the principles enshrined in the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the two countries, the principles of full equality, independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage.

We will take this opportunity once again to express our confidence that in the spirit of the accords reached during summit-level talks in Bucharest and Moscow, the relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and the Soviet Union will continue to develop in the interests of socialist building in the two countries, our peoples' prosperity, and the common cause of socialism and peace.

We send to the Communists and all the working people of the Soviet Union wishes for great new successes in fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th CPSU All-Union Conference.

Nicolae Ceausescu

Secretary General of the RCP, President of Romania

Constantin Dascalescu

Prime Minister of Romania

Hungary's Grosz Notes Need To Cut Subsidies

PM0809080188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Taking a Step Forward. Speech by K. Grosz"]

[Text] Budapest, 2 Sep—The aim of the socioeconomic transformations taking place in Hungary is to reaffirm with new force the effectiveness of the socialist system and Hungarian society's readiness to take a step forward. Socialism in Hungary has a future. This was stated by K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, in his speech at the festivities to mark Miners Day.

The Hungarian leader stressed that in recent years difficulties have accumulated in the Hungarian national economy. The government program of socioeconomic stabilization is aimed precisely at these. The improvement of the structure of production and the creation of preconditions for the extensive manifestation of the masses' creative force are today unthinkable without reducing state subsidies. In this regard a subsidy-cutting program for the next 3 years will be worked out and presented for examination by the National Assembly. It is planned to cut budget subsidies by 30-40 billion forints in the next year.

At the same time, the approach to questions of raising prices should be changed and illusions and prejudices about inflation abandoned, K. Grosz pointed out. If inflation exceeds permissible levels, the balance of the economy will be broken and uncontrollable processes will begin.

PRAVDA on Pluralism in Hungarian Society

PM0609135388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch under the rubric "Fellowship": "With the Hungarian Communists. Entering Into Polemics"]

[Text] Budapest—I remember the recent Hungarian national party conference. When its resolution was put to the vote, not everyone was "for." Four people raised their hands "against." Ten people abstained. Live television broadcasts from the session hall "recorded" for us journalists the disputes, the clash of opinions, and the critical comments.

How many times has it been possible to observe pluralism of opinions at Hungarian National Assembly sessions? When defending the interests of their megye, enterprise collective, or particular social group, the deputies do not always agree with ministers and make their own amendments to legislation and government decisions. Questions can be both of fundamental importance and private in nature. For instance, at the spring parliamentary session one deputy demanded the allocation of

more credit for the development of the food industry on behalf of a number of factory collectives in the sector. The explanations offered by the state financial organs did not satisfy him. Most deputies supported him: The question was reviewed after pressure from them. Of course, this is one form of pluralism and "plurality," and it is engendered by the new ideological atmosphere and the new approaches by Hungarian communists, who are calling for differing viewpoints to be better considered, accumulated, and "borne in mind."

The right to voice one's interests and to have no fear of polemics, the diverse forms of spiritual life, and polyphonic public opinion—all this demands of the party that Marxist-Leninist ideology constantly and vigorously gain ground.

In the sixties the MSZMP began to proceed from the premise that Marxist-Leninist philosophy must play a basic role in spiritual and ideological life, but must not maintain a monopoly. Today Hungarian communists acknowledge that society is not united ideologically and that ideological multiplicity does exist, despite the crucial role of Marxist ideology. There are believers and petit bourgeois remnants. There is a mixed economy, which also makes an impact on opinions: private operators (6 percent of all workers) and individual peasant farmers in rural areas (1.2 percent). Some of them are communists but many of them are not—they too are able not to share the party's ideological demands. But they all work for socialism—for the people and for society. "He who is not against us is with us," Comrade Janos Kadar, now president of the MSZMP, said in 1962. This slogan played a great role in uniting all the creative and spiritual forces within the country and various strata of the population and in creating national unity; it promoted debate. It is written in the history of the MSZMP, for instance, that one mouthpiece for peasant ideas—the well-known writer Peter Beres—debated with communists on three occasions. Party members were confirmed right on two questions.

In the recent past the MSZMP has abandoned many stereotypes and dogmas. It is now renewing, revising, and improving its domestic policy under the slogan: "More socialism, which also means more democracy."

"Socialist pluralism is simultaneously the prerequisite for and the means of the implementation and operation of people's power during the period of socialist development," Janos Berecz, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, stated. "Political power for the people means: The differing social interests that have emerged because of socialism may be fulfilled in the course of development by means of their political integration through agreement. The exercise of power by the people presupposes that pluralism of interests is also manifested in the system of political institutions. If there is no chance to express these interests and no means of coordinating them through a social partnership, the popular nature of power cannot manifest itself without distortions."

The autonomy of the socialist state system (the party exercises influence by conviction rather than by decree) and the granting to trade unions, the Youth League, the Patriotic People's Front, and other social organizations of the right to enter into partnership while acknowledging the leading role of the party and its ideological leadership—all this is clearly recorded in the party conference resolution.

The separation of functions between party and public organizations makes it possible to voice independent opinions and one's own proposals and actively defend one's members' interests. Only under these conditions is it possible to counteract voluntarism and subjectivism. This is also promoted by the 1986 law on the press, which enshrines the principle of freedom of expression. It will also be served by a multicandidate electoral system and the referenda scheduled to be held at local and national levels. The practice of elaborating alternative drafts and discussing them in advance is designed to promote this. Consultative organizations of experts will be set up at the MSZMP Central Committee and at megye and city committees. What is their task? To help seek answers to the new questions of social development.

"How can you find a compass that would indicate that your opinion is correct?"—Istvan Petrovszki, chief of the MSZMP Party and Mass Organizations Department, drew my attention to the need to respect the minority viewpoint. "It will now be the rule that a decision adopted after a debate which demands that everyone fulfill it without fail on the basis of the principles of democratic socialism will carry a special 'declaration,' if need be, setting out the minority stance."

Karoly Grosz, new general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the government, also spoke about this at the party conference, referring to the guarantees for the development of democracy:

"We will act to fulfill the interests of the majority.... But we will also heed the opinion of the minority and patiently cooperate with everyone who works in the interests of socialism."

Now there are approximately 7,000 different social associations and unions operating in the country. Only one-tenth of these existed 5 years ago. They are involved in providing cities and villages with amenities, assembling "roundtables" involving members of large families or pensioners, and working with young people. Emil Pejak, secretary of the Budapest Patriotic People's Front, told me that a special forum has been set up to help autonomous organizations resolve legal, financial, and other questions. Meetings are organized between association representatives and experience is exchanged.

A law on social associations is being drafted. A coordinating service for them is being set up under city councils. In pursuing their interests and initiatives, these associations are now exercising influence in the sphere of politics and ideology. They are helping enrich political life on the basis of socialist values. But there are people and groups in Hungary who, through their actions, are ruling themselves out of the dialogue. They are characterized by anticommunist and anti-Soviet sentiments and a fetishistic fixation with bourgeois democracy. The Hungarian national party conference demanded that communists oppose in a more reasoned and active fashion ideas negating the socialist reforms in the country and reveal the true essence of ideas and aspirations hostile to socialism.

I bumped into party veteran Gyorgy Aczel, now a member of the Central Committee and rector of the MSZMP Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, who has for many years been tackling problems of ideology and culture. While talking about the "wave" of different opinions within the country and certain political, social, and economic sentiments, he said that democracy and socialist pluralism within a one-party mechanism is not a valve through which the steam of pent-up emotions escapes—our steam must turn the wheel of history.

Soviet War Veterans Delegation Visits Hungary
PM0709132788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by Colonel General A. Zheltov, retired, chairman of the Soviet Committee of War Veterans: "Friends Impart Experience; on Results of Trip to Hungary by a Delegation From the Soviet Committee of War Veterans"]

[Excerpts] The Soviet Committee of War Veterans maintains permanent business contacts with the socialist countries' veterans organizations. [passage omitted]

A delegation from our committee, which I headed, recently visited the Hungarian People's Republic at the invitation of the League of Hungarian Resistance Fighters and Antifascists.

The galvanization of the activity of the veteran public is designed to become an important factor for intensifying the processes of restructuring which have been unleashed in our countries at the ruling parties' initiative. By virtue of this, the specific experience of the work of the veterans organizations in fulfilling the decisions of the recent MSZMP and CPSU conferences and the results of the search for new paths and approaches to the formation of the qualities of patriots and internationalists in the young people of the two countries are of considerable interest to both sides. [passage omitted]

The members of the delegation from the Soviet Committee of War Veterans were received by P. Varga, chief of an MSZMP Central Committee department. During the conversation he provided us with detailed information about how the country is resolving the tasks set by the Hungarian party conferences, how the reform of the organs of power is being implemented, and how the processes of democratization and the expansion of glasnost are developing. I remember the Hungarian party official's words about our restructuring: When the Soviet Union takes a big step forward this is a special and inspiring form of support for the Hungarian communists. P. Varga described the dynamics and specific avenues of the development of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation, new impetus to which was provided by the recent meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and K. Grosz. [passage omitted]

Before we left for home, a meeting took place between the members of the delegation of Soviet veterans and Lieutenant General J. Pacsek, chief of General Staff of the Hungarian People's Army, and Lieutenant General J. Horvath, director of the Hungarian People's Army Political Main Directorate. During the conversation we imparted our plans for the development of veterans' traditions of importance in consolidating the combat collaboration between the Soviet Army and the Hungarian People's Army and among the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact states as a whole. We view this meeting, like our conversation at the MSZMP Central Committee, as a sign of the respect and attention of the Hungarian party and military leaders for the patriotic activity of our country's veterans.

The trip to Hungary showed that the ties of friendship and cooperation between the fraternal veterans organizations are expanding and providing mutual benefits. We and our Hungarian counterparts reached the unanimous conclusion that the energy of people who have passed through the great school of life and who in their own destinies have suffered for the ideas of restructuring should be given entirely to the cause of socialist renewal for the benefit of our peoples.

In 1989 the Soviet Committee of War Veterans will receive a delegation of its Hungarian counterparts on a reciprocal visit.

Slyunkov Holds Talks With CSSR's Lenart
PM0709131988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] On 6 September N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with J. Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, who is in Moscow on a working visit.

During the talks it was pointed out with satisfaction that the policy adopted by the CPSU and the CPCZ of restructuring, in-depth economic reform, and democratization of sociopolitical life is having a beneficial influence on the whole range of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations.

Urgent questions of the further development of USSR-CSSR economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, particularly its progressive new forms, were discussed. It was emphasized that both sides attach great significance to the practical resolution of key tasks within the framework of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 and to the broadening of intrasectoral production specialization and collaboration, which must bring mutual cooperation up to a new level.

N.N. Slyunkov provided information on the work under way in the USSR to fulfill the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum.

J. Lenart spoke of the measures being taken in the CSSR to ensure the socioeconomic development plans outlined by the 17th CPCZ Congress.

J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR, participated in the talks, which were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

CSSR's Husak Cables Gromyko From Airplane

PM0709161388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "From Aboard the Aircraft"]

[Text] Flying over USSR territory, CSSR President Gustav Husak has sent A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, a telegram wishing the Soviet people complete success in implementing the restructuring of all spheres of Soviet society's life. We in Czechoslovakia, the telegram says, will make every effort to further deepen friendship and cooperation between our parties and countries, which we see as a guarantee of the successful peaceful development of our fatherland.

USSR-GDR Culture Commission Meets

PM0709161588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Community of Fraternal Cultures"]

[Text] The second session of the USSR-GDR Intergovernmental Commission for Cultural Cooperation ended in Moscow on 2 September. Its participants exchanged information on the development of the two countries' culture and arts in light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the 11th SED Congress.

Particular attention was devoted to preparations for the GDR Culture Days in the USSR devoted to the 40th anniversary of the GDR's formation, and to the Soviet Culture Days in the fraternal country to be held in honor of the 45th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism. Leading creative collectives and performers will take part in these arts and friendship festivals. Exhibitions from major art collections will be organized and shows and concerts will be held to showcase the works of modern dramatists and composers. An important place has been set aside for the cooperation between creative unions, sister cities, regions, and districts.

V.G. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture, and H.J. Hoffmann, GDR minister of culture, signed a protocol on the basis of the results of the session's work.

West Europe

Kohl Discusses USSR Relations at Bundestag

LD0809081288 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Bonn September 7 TASS—The policy pursued by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, opens up the possibility of strengthening international security and developing East-West dialogue. A statement to this effect was made in Bundestag today by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who was addressing the debate on the draft national budget of 1989.

The chancellor devoted much attention to relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union. In his words, these relations are developing now at such a dynamic rate, which was even hard to imagine in the past. He voiced hope that his upcoming official visit to the USSR and the return visit of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to the FRG will contribute towards lending a "new quality" to the Soviet-West German relations and "opening a long period of peaceful cooperation". The FRG Government is prepared for specific steps for the development of cooperation with the Soviet Union in all fields, Helmut Kohl emphasized. He also noted an improvement of relations between the Common Market and the CMEA member countries.

The head of the Bonn government spoke highly of the Soviet-American INF Treaty and noted that as a result of signing it, a whole category of nuclear weapons is being eliminated. Simultaneously the chancellor was trying to picture things in such a way as if all credit for the signing of that treaty goes first and foremost to the West. The chancellor declared for further strengthening steps towards disarmament, including a 50 percent cut in the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the USA, a ban on chemical weapons at the earliest date and for ensuring a stable balance in the field of conventional weapons at a lower level between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO.

At the same time, in his opinion, the development of a single NATO disarmament concept "will take time" since the future president of the United States should participate in it. Kohl again reaffirmed the FRG's commitment to the North Atlantic Alliance and declared that Bonn is determined to meet further its commitments within the NATO framework.

Speaking in the debate, Hans-Johen Vogel, chairman of the Social-Democratic Party, urged the chancellor to use his upcoming official visit to the USSR for furthering the disarmament effort. The Social Democratic Party leader demanded that the FRG Government contribute actively to drawing up a single concept of the West aimed at a stage-by-stage cut in the military arsenals. In so doing he declared against a so-called "modernisation" of nuclear weapons.

Hans-Johen Vogel strongly criticized Bonn's socio-economic and financial policy. He stressed that since the conservative-liberal coalition came to power there has been a most radical redistribution in income to the detriment of the working people throughout the whole of the FRG's territory. The SPD chairman accused Bonn of inability to resolve the problem of mass unemployment, since the government lacks political will to fight against that social evil.

Consultations on Information Held With FRG

LD0809082888 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—Soviet-West German consultations on questions of cooperation in the information area were held at the USSR Foreign Ministry on September 6-7. A wide range of problems of mutual interest was discussed during the consultations: the state of and prospect for contacts and exchanges between Soviet and West German media, journalist organizations, the possibilities for better informing the public about the life and foreign policy of the two countries.

The participants in the consultations were received by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy.

Anniversary of West Berlin Agreement Noted

PM0809114788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Sep 88 First Edition p 5

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikonorov article: "Special Territory. The Four-Power Agreement Between the Governments of the USSR, France, the United States, and Britain on Questions Concerning West Berlin Was Signed 17 Years Ago"]

[Text] "People living on an island should not make the sea their enemy." These words are from a statement made by the board of Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin more than 2 decades ago. At that time the forces striving to turn this unique capitalist island into an outpost of struggle against the socialist sea surrounding it were very firmly entrenched.

Over a period of many years and as a result of actions by the Western countries, primarily the FRG, West Berlin was one of the "cold war's" most dangerous sectors. Various incidents and conflicts occurred there frequently and exacerbated the international situation. Dozens of Western intelligence and subversion organizations, as well as revanchist and militarist unions were firmly established in West Berlin in the late fifties. At that time the bourgeois press described West Berlin as "a frontline city," "a pistol pressed against the GDR's chest," "the cheapest atom bomb." Clouding the overall international atmosphere, this situation had a painful effect primarily on the interests of West Berliners themselves.

The Soviet Union persistently strove to normalize the situation around West Berlin. Following long, tough talks, the Four-Power Agreement between the USSR, France, the United States, and Britain on West Berlin's legal status was signed on 3 September 1971. It was drafted in constant contact with both German states and was supplemented by a series of agreements on specific issues between the GDR, the West Berlin Senate, and the FRG.

The four great powers asserted in the agreement their determination to assist in eliminating tension and preventing complications in the West Berlin area. Fundamental importance is attached to the provision enshrined in the agreement that West Berlin is not part of the FRG and will not be governed by it in the future. The FRG's role as regards West Berlin is reduced to the provision of consular services to permanent residents of West Berlin and representation of West Berlin's interests in international organizations and at international conferences. West Berlin's permanent residents have the right to participate jointly with FRG participants in international exchanges and exhibitions. International accords and agreements concluded by the FRG are also allowed to extend to West Berlin provided they do not affect questions of the city's security and status.

The four great powers which signed this important document agreed that the situation prevailing in the area, as defined by the Four-Power Agreement, will not be unilaterally changed. Force or the threat of force must not be applied in the area, and disputes must be resolved exclusively by peaceful means.

As a result of the conclusion of the Four-Power Agreement, the atmosphere around West Berlin improved noticeably. Its population was allowed to take advantage of the results of detente and to expand its economic and cultural ties with peoples from European states. The Soviet Union, for example, opened a consulate general, an office of Soviet foreign trade associations, and branches of Aeroflot and Inturist in West Berlin. But the main point was that the signing of the agreement offered

convincing proof that, given the presence of goodwill, the former main participants in the anti-Hitler coalition could fruitfully cooperate in peacetime also for the sake of strengthening peace and the peoples' security.

At the same time, it must be noted that the Western side at times takes a stance that does not promote normal implementation of the agreement. Certain forces in the FRG, contrary to common sense, behave as if the city belonged to the Federal Republic and try to establish the practice of the so-called "Federal presence" in West Berlin. Official visits by Bonn politicians and the siting of various FRG institutions in the city's territory are used for this purpose. Attempts to "bypass" the Four-Power Agreement and ignore its individual provisions do not, of course, help to improve the atmosphere in Europe and run contrary to the incipient positive trends in international politics.

Latin America & Caribbean

Dobrynin Receives Nicaragua's Nunez 3 Sep

LD0609152088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 6 Sep (TASS)—Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today met with Carlos Nunez, member of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) and chairman of the National Assembly of the Republic of Nicaragua.

Nunez relayed a personal message to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, from Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Executive Commission of the national leadership of the FSLN and president of the Republic of Nicaragua.

Dobrynin confirmed the unwavering solidarity of the CPSU and all Soviet people with the courageous struggle of the Nicaragua people for freedom and independence, and in defense of their right to their own political and social choice. Nunez was informed of the main areas of CPSU activity toward implementing the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the July (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

E. Castillo Martinez, ambassador of the Republic of Nicaragua to the USSR, participated in the meeting.

Chilean Communist Official Holds News Conference

PY0309152888 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2000 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Statement by Volodia Teitelboim, Communist Party of Chile Politburo member and regular Radio Moscow commentator, at the beginning of a "two-part news conference," in the Soviet Foreign Ministry Press Center on 2 September—recorded]

[Text] In the past few days—particularly hours—we have received from Chile extraordinary news that has inspired joy in some people and skepticism in others. This news has raised several questions. The Pinochet regime announced a few days ago that it was lifting the state of exception in force during the past 15 years, since the military coup on 11 September 1973. Chilean Interior Ministry Under Secretary Cardemil has also reported that the regime has lifted the prohibition on the return of exiles.

Does this mean that the dictator and dictatorship are metamorphosing into democracy? An answer to this question, and the ones you will ask, requires a brief look at the political framework in which these actions are taken. We must look at the situation created by the plebiscite that will take place in 1 month and 3 days, on 5 October. In 2 more days it will be the 18th anniversary of the last legitimate, constitutional, and democratic elections that took place in Chile, when Salvador Allende was elected. Will something similar happen on 5 October? Obviously not. It will be something completely different. We think it will be a farce that has nothing to do with a real election.

It is not an election. It is an imposition by four persons, who are the Carabineros and Armed Forces commanders in chief of Chile. They are the ones who will determine the only name that will be proposed in a plebiscite in which one will vote either yes or no. In order to arrive at this decision, Army Commander in Chief Augusto Pinochet will approve his own nomination.

This event has something to do with what happened a decade and a half ago when the constitutional government was mercilessly ravaged. The regime is now trying to enter a new phase to reaffirm itself as a system. It is facing a new situation that requires great maneuvers, audacious face changes, plastic surgery, and cosmetics.

All this is related to the 1980 Constitution, which is a monster in legal clothing. This is the Pinochet Constitution which, among many aberrant provisions, contains a call for a plebiscite manipulated to nominate Pinochet for a new presidential term. As you know, this Constitution was approved, through machinations and scheming, on 11 September 1980. This means the plebiscite was anticipated 8 years ago. So the timetable is being followed as it was laid down then. Through his nomination for a plebiscite, Pinochet puts himself in the position to renew his term in office from 11 March 1989 to 11 March 1997, practically to the end of the present century. Thus Pinochet would have completed 23 and ½ years in power.

This shows that the 1980 Constitution was written to suit Pinochet's design to stay in power as a dictator for life. It also instituted perpetual military dictatorship by establishing that whatever changes the future may bring—including that of a president in civilian clothing—there will always be a higher authority with veto power over any decision that may seem detrimental to the principle

of national security. This higher authority that will exert tutelage over any president is the National Security Council, which is mainly made up of the commanders in chief of the Armed Forces.

Therefore, the Chilean Constitution on one hand establishes Pinochet's perpetual dictatorship, and on the other hand establishes the perpetual dictatorship of the Armed Forces.

There was no doubt in Chile or throughout the world that Pinochet would be nominated by the commanders in chief. Some had speculated about the possibility of free elections, but we anticipated that this possibility was only wishful thinking, something that could not come to pass. But there were some credulous people, I don't know why—or, rather, I do know why—who spoke of the possibility of free elections. It was a beautiful thought, but an impossible one under the dictatorship and the dictator now ruling Chile. Others proposed a concensus candidate on the grounds that Pinochet was the cause of the country's polarization, thus maintaining a situation that might prove dangerous for those who are interested in a peaceful transition. Others brought up the idea of a civilian candidate, and many other proposals were made. But Pinochet, of course, got his own way and was nominated by the commanders in chief of the Armed Forces.

Others speculated about disagreements within the government junta. In fact, I believe that disagreements exist in the junta and also within the Chilean Armed Forces. After all, they cannot be totally indifferent to the nation's clamoring for freedom and democracy. As a matter of fact, some of the government junta members said they would prefer another candidate, not Pinochet. They went so far as depicting that candidate as a civilian, 53 years old, and so forth. A verbal picture of that candidate was drawn. In the end, however, they simply bowed their heads and accepted Pinochet's candidacy, because Pinochet lined up the Army against them. Bear in mind that the Army is the most powerful branch of the Armed Forces. So those who were leaning against Pinochet said to themselves that they could not jeopardize Armed Forces unity, let alone risk a clash within the Armed Forces.

That is why Pinochet managed to be first proclaimed candidate by the Army in order to break the weak, secondary, and even cowardly other members of the government junta. Thus, in the ceremony held a few days ago to celebrate Pinochet's 15 years as Army commander, Deputy Army Commander General Santiago Sinclair said the Army is alert and vigilant, watching future developments. And, perhaps looking at the junta members, he added that they display a profile of treason that the Army condemns; the Army will defend the Constitution so that the chief of state will not be displaced. By chief of state, General Sinclair meant Pinochet. The Army intimidated the members of the junta, and they capitulated.

At the Santiago garrison, Gen Sinclair told Pinochet personally that they wanted him to know that they were on his side and pledged their unrestricted loyalty and unconditional support to him, both as Army commander and president of the nation. This was said on 24 August, and the junta met on 30 August. At that ceremony at the military school, Gen Santiago Sinclair said a campaign to sully the Army's prestige is under way, and the country will have a tragic future if the obstacles are not effectively and quickly removed. Chile will not tolerate the return of the Marxists. Of course, by Marxists he means any type of opposition.

As we can see, Pinochet said at that ceremony, accepting his anticipated nomination by the Army, that he is in power because the Army supports him—or should we say because he still keeps the Army under his control. If he did not have the Army's support, Pinochet would not remain in power for 5 minutes. Pinochet then said it is inconceivable that the military should only respond to the thunder of cannons in external conflicts, when their conviction grows stronger every day that the relentless enemies of Western civilization are operating inside the country's borders. This is vintage Pinochet thinking, the doctrine of ideological borders, the internal enemy, the internal war. Of course, this thinking is not very becoming to the face Pinochet exhibited on behalf of harmony on the night of 30 August. That is the word he used: harmony. Yes, it is harmony—with a club in hand and with the cannons ready to fire at any time. Minutes after he was nominated by the junta, the Armed Forces and the Carabineros killed three youths—two of them youngsters 14 and 15 years old—injured hundreds of people, and arrested more than a thousand people throughout a country that stood up, from north to south, to say no to Pinochet. World opinion echoed that battle cry by repudiating Pinochet's candidacy.

The outcome surprised no one, because Pinochet, who has been seeking this nomination, has, in fact, already been a candidate for 2 years now, moving day in and day out, up and down, to promote himself. I entered Chile illegally last year, and I was able to see a good many of his appearances, where he said that he was going to put an end to politicking. Now, Pinochet has become an outright demagogue, promising everything to everyone in return for a yes vote on 5 October. However, those supporting a yes vote are the minority in Chile, and this fact is very important. Through the opinion polls, Pinochet knows that the yes vote will lose. So, from now until the plebiscite date, Pinochet will perform a series of demagogic acts, sometimes going overboard, in order to attract a certain sector of public opinion by flaunting a new image, that of a good man, a father figure.

That explains the lifting of the state of exeception and the ban on the return of exiles. A few days ago, the Catholic Church, for the thousandth time, asked that exiles be allowed to return. Suddenly, yesterday, it was announced that the ban on the return of exiles lifted. This measure calls for comparisons and explanations,

because, after all, we are entitled to the benefit of the doubt and to be skeptical. Why was the Catholic Church's thousandth request answered? Why not all the previous requests? Because there was no plebiscite in the offing before. The plebiscite is now just 1 month off. This measure is an attempt to sway voters. More measures, many more, of this kind will come. Packages of economic measures, political measures, social benefits are nothing but attempts to bribe voters; tactical concessions to soften resitence, to neutralize repudiation, and to win votes.

The no vote will win regardless. On the night of 5 October, however, Pinochet or one of his minions will announce the bogus victory of the yes vote. This is what will happen because Pinochet and his system handle all the levers of the electoral machinery—from the voting booths all the way to the balloting. Moreover, the guarantor of this electoral process is the Armed Forces, who will take the votes in their posession so they can practice all the fraudulent tricks one can imagine. Although the exceptional measures have been lifted, the 1980 Constitution still remains in force. So, among the many provisions of Article 8, there is one that outlaws a large portion of the Chilean left from political activities. This measure affects at least one-third of the population, including the Communist Party, the Socialist Party headed by Clodomiro Almeida, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left, and others.

Furthermore, the large number of political prisoners in Chile will not be released. At least up until now they have not been set free. Also, there are public or secret rules that make it possible to arrest citizens at any time. Also, the licence to kill that has been granted to repressive bodies and death squads was not revoked. This explains why those three youngsters were killed on the night of 30 August. Those bodies and squads, riding official cars bearing no license plates, can still go out and kill. It is, therefore, very important not to let oneself be deceived by a professional head hunter who harbors ambitions of becoming a dictator for life.

I want to finally say that those in exile naturally greet the news of the lifting of the ban as a victory of the Chilean people and those in the world who support the Chilean people. For 15 years they have incessantly demanded that the exile practice be done away with—the practice that the Catholic Church and the pope asserted is worse than killing, or equivalent to death of citizenship. We have lived in exile all these years and have to thank those countries who extended us their hospitality. Naturally, we now will return to our native country thanks to the Chilean people; thanks to international solidarity for this great victory, which has been obtained by shaping up a world conscience of repudiation; and also thanks to the 15 consecutive annual condemnations for Pinochet's human rights violations by the UN General Assembly.

We do not underestimate these accomplishments. The end of exile, which we hope will be put into effect without any tricks, is not a gift from the dictatorship. It is a victory for Chile and the world over the dictatorship. The dictatorship will try to restrict and limit that victory. This has to be made very clear.

Deceit must be prevented. The Chilean families, scattered throughout more that 100 countries, should no longer be deceived and mocked. The return of Chileans should be guaranteed and secured.

What will happen with the exiles in 1 month's time, after the plebiscite? The exiles are ready to go back and we will go back. We will return to Chile with joy in our hearts and are willing to make efforts to obtain the victory of the no vote. This victory should be defended against any type of fraud attempting to annul it, no matter what.

We will return to join our people in their struggle, which we have never abandoned. The people play the leading role in this drama and they will have to conquer freedom and democacry to put an end to dictatorship.

'Part Two' of News Conference

PY0509171888 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2030 GMT 3 Sep 88

["Part two" of a news conference by Volodia Teitelboim, Communist Party of Chile Politburo member and regular Radio Moscow commentator, in the Soviet Foreign Ministry Press Center on 2 September—recorded]

[Text] [Serrano] Luis Serrano from Radio Nacional of Spain. I want to ask Mr Teitelboim: If the exiles return, will they return before 5 October? My second question: What decision will be made by Luis Corvalan, if you know, or will he continue in exile?

[Teitelboim] I believe that many exiles will return immediately. I have read a press dispatch saying that Hortensis Bussi de Allende, who has been forbidden to return for the past 12 years, has announced in Mexico that she will return to Chile within the next 10 days. Many exiles will do the same and return before 5 October, even if they do not have the right to vote, since the electoral registrations were closed on 30 August, the same day the government junta nominated Pinochet as the candidate. Other exiles may return later. You can understand what living in exile with one's family for 15 years is like. According to word of mouth, 1.2 million Chileans are outside the country. Not all of them are political exiles; many are economic exiles, because to some extent the political situation affects the economy, thus causing a shortage of jobs in Chile. Many exiles will have to plan their return more calmly. But the will of the majority of exiles is to return.

Luis Corvalan is currently somewhere in Latin America. Although I have not talkied with him, I have no doubt that he will make provisions to return as soon as possible.

[Saprilla] Roberto Saprilla from [name indistinct] magazine. What would be your party's attitude if the yes vote wins the plebiscite? I would also like to ask if it would maintain its position regarding the armed struggle.

[Teitelboim] Judging honestly, according to all opinion polls, the yes vote cannot possibly win the plebiscite. The yes vote can only be imposed through large-scale fraud, which, we believe, Pinochet has already planned. Pinochet has already won two previous plebiscites: The first one was in 1979, when he decided, in view of the sixth overwhelming vote by the UN General Assembly condemning Chile, to call a plebiscite to repudiate the UN and the 100 nations that condemned him. A few days later, he set up a farcical plebiscite, a ridiculous sham, at a time when all electoral registration books had been burned and there was no form of control. Later, he won the 1980 plebiscite approving the Constitution through a similar farcical procedure. In the court action brought against Michel Tawnley, a U.S. citizen at the service of DINA [National Intelligence Directorate, later replaced by the National Intelligence Center], in New York, for the assassination of Orlando Letelier, who was Allende's ambassador in Washington, Michel Tawnley said that he and his entire family had voted three times in the 1980 plebiscite. He also said that Freddy, the household dog, also voted. This has been recorded in the dossier of the case in Washington. This is how the seriousness of the plebiscite can be gauged. There are rumors that the farce was set up long ago. Army draftees are taken en masse for registration. Certainly there will be no hesitation to announce imaginary figures of a fake victory. So we can only say that the yes vote cannot legitimately win; the yes vote can only win through fraudulent means.

As to whether our party's position regarding the armed struggle would change if the yes vote wins, I must say that this is a horrible mistake that circulates around the world, orchestrated by an intelligence organization interested in deceiving people of good faith. The Communist Party of Chile [PCCh] policy is different; it is a creative and original policy. This policy calls for the use of various forms of struggle, but this does not mean armed struggle, nor does it mean electoral struggle alone. It means all imaginable manners of social mobilization combined. Therefore, the PCCh does not have to change anything. It does not advocate the armed struggle; it does not simply advocate the electoral struggle. We will vote no, and will do all we can at the ballot boxes. But when Pinochet or one of his minions announces on the night of 5 October that the yes vote has won, we will try to do something more than go home and cry. We will try to arouse all the citizenry to defend their will expressed in the ballot boxes so that it will not be mocked, stolen. This is a right of the people, and the nation's dignity demands that this right be exercised.

[Dodari] Silvia Dodari from EFE. I want to insist on the armed struggle issue, because it seems that it was not made very clear. You said that the PCCh resorts to all forms of struggle. Is the armed strggle included or not?

[Teitelboim] If by armed struggle you mean a confrontation between armies, it is not included. If by armed struggle you mean the right to self-defense in the face of an illegitimate aggression, a self-defense which is part of all penal codes in the world and which has been defended by illustrious Church authorities for centuries in the face of an unbearably prolonged tyranny, then yes, the armed struggle is included. But what I want to question is the unilateral position of those who claim to support an armed struggle at a time when the most important thing for Chile—and especially for us communists—is to promote social mobilization. Social mobilization calls for struggle in all sectors—workers, students, slum dwellers, middle class, university students, all joined in the struggle for democracy and freedom as essential principles for the enforcement of human rights in Chile.

[Reporter] [Name indistinct]. My question is whether the opposition has its own mechanisms for controlling the voting and whether it includes some way for mobilizing the people against the dictatorship.

[Teitelboim] The opposition is making and will make efforts to control the voting from outside the voting system. The legitimate political parties that are accredited—among which the illegal, or unconstitutional parties as the PCCh, the Almeida-led Socialist Party, the so-called pro-violence or Marxist parties are not included—can appoint poll watchers. This means that their representatives can sit at the voting tables. But as far as the control apparatus and the final balloting are concerned, they are completely in the hands of the regime, particularly of the Army. So there is room for manipulation.

[Zusaberri] Ernesto Zusaberri. Should the no vote win, what would be your party's attitude? Are you making provisions for some kind of coordination with the democratic parties of Chile?

[Teitelboim] We believe that the no vote will definitely win. The problem will be to have this popular decision respected. If the no vote turns out to be overwhelming, it will be more difficult to tamper with a plebiscite result that is unfavorable for the regime. We want the no vote to bring about an immediate change in the situation. In the event of a no vote win, the 1980 Constitution mandates that Pinochet should continue in power another year, retaining his post as Armed Forces commander. This is sufficient time for Pinochet to prepare 10 coups against the plebiscite result. It will therefore be necessary to reestablish a civilian regime, with the Armed Forces withdrawing into their barracks, and the situation of a provisional government in which, let's hope, all opposition forces will be represented. This civilian regime must not only put an end to Pinochet's regime but also to Pinochetism without Pinochet; that is, to do away with the 1980 Constitution and fascism. To this end, we are most willing to make arrangements with all the opposition parties. Now, I believe that all these parties are democratic. In 1973, the PCCh, the Socialist

Party, and all the parties of the Popular Unity fell in defense of democracy and liberty, while other centrist and rightist parties obviously went along with the coup. This means that democrats are devided into all-weather democrats and fair-weather democrats. We are all-weather democrats, and this is attested to by the history of the PCCh. Nobody has ever been able to point a finger to an undemocratic gesture by the PCCh. Of course, that is based on the premise that democracy is the government of the people, by the people, and for the people—not the government of the oligarchy and the transnational companies. In pursuit of that policy, we have knocked on the door of all the other opposition parties to seek agreements a thousand times. And so, we believe that all the opposition parties must rally behind an agreement right now, and remain in agreement up until the plebiscite day. We must agree on a common attitude to be expressed on the night of 5 October, which will be the moment of truth—the time when Pinochet might well announce the bogus victory of the yes vote. The only thing we want is democracy and freedom, returning to the Chilean people their sovereign right to decide which profile Chile should have in the future, a future without Pinochet. We are not asking for a proletarian dictatorship nor even a return of the Popular Unity. We are not asking for anything but freedom, liberty, and restoration to the people of their legitimate right to decide their own future.

This is our position. But we are also aware that unless a grand social mobilization goes into action, Pinochet can continue to govern under the rule of violence as he has been doing so far. All his smiles at this time are nothing more than the trimmings of the sympathy operation that will last up until the night of 5 October, because he certainly does not have any lasting sympathy. Then he will go back to being a ferocious and relentless dictator.

[Reporter] [Name indistinct]. There should be negotiations among the opposition forces to make some concessions to agree on a common strategy. Will the PCCh be willing to make some concessions for the sake of an agreement with all the other opposition parties?

[Teitelboim] We are seeking a modest agreement, not proposing ambitious government plans. We called for such ambitious plans in the past, but they have repeatedly been rejected by the centrist and rightist forces. What we are proposing is an agreement for today, up until the plebiscite, so that a social mobilization can be developed by explaining to the people what is at stake. We would like to see thousands of millions of Chileans on the streets, because there are thousands of millions of people who want to end this nightmare. Then we want to reach an agreement on what attitude we will adopt toward the electoral fraud, both on the day and the night of the plebiscite, when a false result is most likely to be announced. What will we do then? As for everything else, the PCCh position is well known: We want freedom and democracy. We are not making demands in advance, because we are not like those who put the cart before the horses. The first stage of ousting Pinochet must be completed. Later we can discuss the rest. The truth is that we do not have anything else to discuss, because we do not have presidential ambitions; we are not eyeing positions; we only want freedom and democracy for Chile.

[Reporter] [Name indistinct]. As you said before, referring to voting tables, the opposition parties will have the right to have a poll watcher there. Which parties [words indistinct]?

[Teitelboim] All the legal parties have the right to have a poll watcher; that is, all the accepted parties registered with the electoral and institutional system. These are a few parties—centrist and rightist parties—or few parties that were members of the Popular Unity in the past. But the Almeida-led Socialist Party, the PCCh, the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left], and other parties that were members of the Popular Unity have no right to appoint poll watchers because they are not legal or instituional parties.

Anti-Pinochet Communique Issued

PY0509225788 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2000 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] The Communist Party of Chile [PCCh] has called upon the Armed Forces to support the no vote in the October 5 plebiscite in order to play an important role in keeping with the people's will during this emergency.

In a communique released during a news conference, the Communists said that the dictatorship must be replaced by a provisional government representing the democratic forces, a government which should call for elections to designate the president and the members of congress and which will restore democracy.

The document states that this is the objective of the no vote, adding that any attempt to ignore the people's will for change should be met by a nationwide strike by a democratic uprising.

The PCCh called upon the people to mobilize to defeat the fraud. The PCCh praised the actions to protest and repudiate Pinochet, because they reveal that Chile can and must avoid the fraud.

The document warns about the regime's maneuvers to remain in power even in case of a no vote victory, adding that only the mobilization of the masses and their will to organize and defend themselves from repression can assure victory.

According to the Communist Party, the nomination of Pinochet is a provocation to the whole country because he is primarily responsible for the horrible murders, disappearances, arrests, torture, exile, starvation, unemployment, and other crimes that have occurred over the past 15 years.

The document stresses the importance of street demonstrations, barricades, blackouts, protests, and pot-banging as the only answer to repression, because the people must exercise their right to self-defense. The Communists warn that the yes vote can win only by a scandalous fraud, which the people cannot and will not accept. They will take to the streets to prevent that fraud from being consumated.

The document notes that there will be no democracy as long as the left is outlawed, because it represents at least one-third of the population that adheres to the most advanced social thinking. There will be no democracy if we try to maintain the tutelary role of the Armed Forces and Pinochet's Constitution based on the national security doctrine. This Constitution must be revoked.

The PCCh proposes that today's imperative is to unify all opposition forces to defeat the dictatorship. This demands a generous attitude from all opposition forces. Finally, the document calls on all militant Communists to work as hard as they can prior to the plebiscite—forming more and more workers' committees and promoting mass movements in order to attain victory.

Jose Sanfuentes, secretary general of the United Left and one of the Communist leaders attending the PCCh news conference, alerted the people to actions that the dictatorship is preparing. The dictatorship intends to blame the Communists and other revolutionary forces for those actions, thereby justifying repression.

Political & Social

Lithuania Halts Funding of AES Expansion

PM0509135988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent L. Kapelyushnyy report: "Construction Halted"]

[Text] Vilnius—The Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers has adopted a decision to cease financing the construction of the third Ignalina AES unit.

Scientists, nature protection organ workers, geologists, leaders of the State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in the Atomic Power Industry, and leaders of ministries and departments involved in construction—a total of 40 people—were invited to a session of the republic's government, where they examined questions of ecology, the safe operation of the station's first and second units, and the construction of the third unit.

The construction of atomic power facilities requires supreme skill, irreproachable compliance with technological and economic norms, and excellent quality. Alas, A. Zhukauskas, vice-president of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, pointed out, AES construction workers can by no means always boast this. The Ignalina AES project, which still has not been ratified, originally established low seismic safety margins: Calculations were based on tremors registering 6 on the Richter Scale, but early this century an earthquake registering 7 was recorded. In the opinion of Yu. Sabalyauskas, first deputy chairman of the Lithuanian State Committee for Environmental Control, a whole series of violations that arose during the construction of the first unit have also moved on to the third unit. The planners have no absolute answer to the question of how to preserve the ecological balance in that natural pearl—Lake Drushkyay.

N. Ponomarev-Stepnoy, first deputy director of the Kurchatov Atomic Power Institute, said that the institute, at the request of his Lithuanian colleagues, had carried out a field radiation test and plotted a pollution chart. It turned out that Lithuania is a clean area as far as radiation is concerned, particularly near the AES. But who knows this apart from a narrow circle of specialists? People's suspicions are also intensified by the fact that our population has been deprived of the chance of having individual radiation tests.

In the course of the discussion of the problem it was proposed that work be halted on the construction of the third Ignalina AES unit (R260 million has already been invested in it).

The ELTA news agency reported after the session of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers that the republic's government, the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation (Minister N. Lukonin), and the USSR Ministry of Medium Machine Building (Deputy Minister A. Usanov) have decided to mothball the construction of the third power unit until all safety questions are answered in full, and also to ask the USSR Council of Ministers to create a state commission to examine the project and the problems involved in the construction of the third unit of the Ignalina AES.

Nuclear Power Plant Fire Safety Explained

LD0709111088 Moscow TASS in English 1041 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova reports:

Inflammation of monitor cables at the Ignalina atomic electric power station in Lithuania on the night of September 4-5 has been liquidated in no time owing to precise operation of automatic fire-prevention systems. The fire was put out so promptly that the assistance of the station personnel summoned by alarm and firemen was not needed.

Attention to radiation safety of atomic electric power plants considerably enhanced in the USSR in the recent years. A prompt safety system was created after the Chernobyl accident in April 1986. This system is, by the way, being tested for the first time at the Ignalina atomic power station where a nighttime fire took place. The main task of the system is to ensure safety inside the reactor's fuel core. The speed of rod insertion into the reactor's core was increased for the purpose. The rods quench the neutron flux. It now takes 2.1 seconds at the Ignalina atomic power station to make the rod insertion operation in full, whereas it takes on the average 12 seconds for this operation at other stations. In case of the slightest doubt, caused by deviation in the reactor's operating parameters, it can now be slowed down almost instantly.

It is to be recalled that gross reactor control violations were made at Chernobyl which caused the accident. Specialists assert that such errors now would not have led to such an accident. A probability of reactor runaway is fully ruled out now through selecting the ratio of fuel, absorber and neutron moderator. All Soviet atomic power stations now have additional neutron absorbers to be reliably protected from possible operator mistakes. The personnel cannot bring them out of the core. It takes over an hour to extract one neutron absorber, and their number in each reactor is 81.

Minsk AES Project Halted; Chernobyl Cited

PM0809125988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent M. Shimanskiy dispatch: "AES Will Change Address"]

[Text] Minsk—The construction of a nuclear-powered heat thermal power station near Minsk has been halted.

It was being built 37 km from the Belorussian capital. It had already been named—the Minsk Nuclear-Powered Heat and Electric Power Station [ATETS]. The station was designed to provide the city with heat.

Events at Chernobyl affected the fate of the structure. Debates began in Belorussia and alarmed letters flooded in to soviet and party organs. Now a decision has been adopted to halt construction of the AES near Minsk.

I met with L. Firisanov, deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, and asked him to comment on this decision.

[Firisanov] The Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers submitted a proposal to the country's government—that the ATETS under construction be redesigned. It has been decided to build a gas-fired thermal power station on the site of the nuclear-fueled station. The name of the new facility is the Minsk TETS-5.

[Shimanskiy] In this connection definite losses must, probably, have been incurred?

[Firisanov] Minimal losses, since when the decision was adopted funds were in the main invested in the creation of a construction base, housing, and sociocultural facilities. Full use will be made of all this. For instance, the construction base capacities are such that they are adequate for serving the republic's other power-engineering facilities.

TETS-5 will have six power units. They will produce almost as much heat as planned for the AES. So in that respect Minsk will not lose out in any way. There will be time losses: It was planned to commission the Minsk ATETS in 1989, but the first TETS-5 unit will be commissioned only in 1993.

[Shimanskiy] Does the decision to redesign the Minsk ATETS mean that you are no longer siting AES's on Belorussian territory?

[Firisanov] No, our republic, unfortunately, does not have sufficient power sources. Belorussia's economy is expanding and the need for power is gradually growing. Now a decision has been adopted to expand the capacities of the existing Berezovskaya and Lukomlskaya GRES's. But this is only a temporary way out of the situation. That is why prospecting work is now under way to choose a site for a future AES with state-of-the-art reactors.

Further Reportage on Trial of Churbanov, Others

Assistant Prosecutor Comments

LD0709145188 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov reports:

"The Churbanov case is an ordinary criminal rather than political trial as some Western journalists try to project it. The filing of criminal charges is determined by the utterly criminal offences committed by them rather than their political status", Aleksandr Sboyev, assistant to procurator-general of the USSR, senior legal council, said in a TASS interview. He acts as a public prosecutor at the trial of former First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR Yuriy Churbanov and several ex-heads of Uzbekistan's internal affairs bodies.

The Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR continued the reading of the indictment on this case.

"To expose everything in elaborate detail, in strict compliance with the law, without the presumption of innocence is the task of this trial", Sboyev said. The trial proceeds normally, all formalities necessary for the observance of the defendants' procedural rights were executed. Secretaries of the court session read the indictment clearly and rather fast.

The task of both the prosecution and the defence is to develop a deep understanding of the causes that generated this trial, Sboyev holds. "In so doing, we will try to hold it promptly, certainly without damage to court examination," he said.

Trial May Last 3 Months

LD0709150488 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov:

The sight of people queueing up outside the building of the USSR Supreme Court in 15 Vorovskiy Street in Moscow is quite unusual. Many people wished to be present in court in the third day of the open court session in the case of Yuriy Churbanov, former USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, and a number of former senior officials of Uzbekistan's bodies of internal affairs. One of the persons standing in queue, who named himself as Moscow Engineer Igor Surovtsev, told me: "I came here not from sheer curiosity. This trial is, in my view, a deep analysis into the causes why the events mentioned in court hearings became possible."

The charge of bribe-taking has been made against all of the nine defendants. Today the reading of the indictment was continuing in the whole of the first part of the day. It concerned former Deputy Ministers of Internal Affairs of Uzbekistan Tashtemir Makhramanov and Pyotr Begelman. Makhramanov is charged with taking a total of 61,000 roubles in pay-offs, Begelman is charged with taking 46,000 roubles in bribes and paying off 80,000 to other persons. Promotion on the job, the awarding of titles, employment, eleven of the persons who were previously sacked from militia, was done for money. One of the witnesses is quoted in the indictment as

saying among other things the following: "It was enough to give Makhramanov a bribe and he began greeting you." Witnesses said in their testimony that Begelman "acted on a large scale and was not ashamed of anybody".

Many persons including among those in the dock, went to them seeking their favours. And they knew too well what way they were to behave in front of high-placed officials. When Churbanov came to Uzbekistan, Makhramanov gave him 50,000 roubles "for support and protection". This pay off is among the charges made against Makharamanov.

The part concerning the two deputy ministers holds a certain place in the fifteen hundred pages of the indictment. The whole of the criminal case takes 110 volumes. A total of 500 witnesses are to be examined and more than 1,500 episodes in the activities of the defendants are to be analysed. According to some predictions, the trial may last three months.

CPSU Endorses Stricter State, Party Awards

PM0509134388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a resolution on the question of improving the procedure for awarding USSR state awards. It notes that the current USSR state awards system is an important moral incentive to working people for special achievements in economic, social, and cultural building, the defense of the socialist fatherland, and for other services to the state and society. Hundreds of thousands of people who have received USSR orders and medals or have been given USSR honorific titles are examples of labor valor, selflessness, and loyalty to civic duty and furtherance of the homeland's interests.

At the same time, the established practice of USSR state awards does not conform to the process of the democratization of society and is a poor stimulus to the development of citizens' labor and social and political activeness. In connection with the practice of mass awards for 5-year plan results and for other reasons, the prestige of state awards has declined and the procedure whereby poeople are nominated for orders and medals has become formalized. Use is frequently made of lists compiled on high, and little account has been taken of the opinion of labor collectives. Often awards have been given not for specific services but on birthdays. These shortcomings have been rightly pointed out in communications from public organizations, labor collectives, and working people to central and local bodies and in press items.

The CPSU Central Committee backed working people's proposals aimed at substantially changing the practice of conferring USSR state awards. The CPSU Central Committee approved measures to improve the procedure for awarding USSR state awards adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Union republic Communist Party central committees, party kraykoms, obkoms, okruzhkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, and primary party organizations were told to ensure that state award nominations are made openly, with the backing of public opinion, in accordance with the principle of social justice, and, in the main, on the initiative of labor collectives. There must also be a strictly individual approach and comprehensive consideration of the recipients' personal services and achievements. It is important to ensure that the discussion of these matters at labor collectives' meetings and sessions of their councils should be principled and frank and that instances of unmerited nominations and elements of haste and last-minute campaigning should be ruled out.

The only people eligible for state awards are those who have produced outstanding achievements in production, in the various spheres of science, technology, and culture, and in the education, health, and consumer services; those who have been prominent in state and public activity, who have shown courage and valor in carrying out the homeland's assignments or in protecting public order, and who have earned people's respect and recognition in all their work.

The implementation of the projected measures should be an incentive to highly productive, conscientious labor, the development of people's initiative and creativity, and an increase in their personal contribution to the national effort.

In cases where republics, krays, oblasts, okrugs, cities, and other population centers and labor collectives are celebrating important dates, wider use should be made of various forms of greetings, congratulations, and decorations, and other tokens of recognition should be given, with the general public and media being involved in this.

The resolution determines measures to step up party committees' monitoring both of the conferment of state awards on leaders of enterprises, organizations, and institutions, party, soviet, and Komsomol workers, and leading personnel of public organization bodies, and of nominations for the title of Hero of the Soviet Union or Hero of Socialist Labor and the award of Orders of Lenin or the October Revolution.

The great significance of the work of party, soviet, economic, trade union, and Komsomol bodies to improve propaganda of the achievements and services of award recipients and to disseminate their progressive experience was mentioned.

Presidium Issues Decree on Honorary Titles

PM0709113388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Aug 88 Second Edition p 2

[USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree dated 22 August "On Making Some Changes to the System of USSR Honorary Titles"]

[Text] The Kremlin, Moscow—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

1. The following USSR honorary titles are to be established: "USSR Honored Industrial Worker," "USSR Honored Construction Worker," "USSR Honored Transport Worker," "USSR Honored Communications Worker," and "USSR Honored Specialist of the Armed Forces."

2. The following USSR honorary titles are to be abolished: "USSR Honored Military Airman," "USSR Honored Military Navigator," "USSR Honored Pilot," "USSR Honored Navigator," "USSR Honored Test Parachutist," "USSR Honored Land Reclamation Worker," "USSR Honored Designer," "USSR Honored Technologist," and "USSR Honored Machine Builder."

The persons awarded the USSR honorary titles listed in this article retain these titles and the rights granted them.

3. Article 19 of the general statute on USSR orders, medals, and honorary titles approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 3 July 1979 (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1979, No 28, Article 479; 1982, No 1, Article 1, and No 23, Article 408; 1984, No 29, Article 502, and No 44, Article 769; 1985, No 25, Article 445, and No 34, Article 615) is to be set forth as follows:

"Article 19. The following USSR honorary titles are established:
"'USSR People's Teacher,'
"'USSR People's Physician,'
"'USSR People's Artiste,'
"'USSR People's Artist,'
"'USSR People's Architect,'
"'USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut,'
"'USSR Honored Industrial Worker,'
"'USSR Honored Agricultural Worker,'
"'USSR Honored Construction Worker,'
"'USSR Honored Transport Worker,'
"'USSR Honored Communications Worker,'
"'USSR Honored Inventor,'
"'USSR Honored Test Pilot,'
"'USSR Honored Test Navigator,'
"'USSR Honored Specialist of the Armed Forces.'"

A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

PRAVDA Discusses Food Supply Problems

PM0709112188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Sep 88 Second Edition p 3

[A. Chernyak "Publicist's Notes": "Mouths To Feed in Statistics and in Real Life. The Food Issue Through the Prism of Social Justice"]

[Text] "Where do they get it all from? Meat, poultry, milk, butter, and cottage cheese are freely available in the stores. Like living in a different country!"

"People are working...."

"So what are we—deadbeats? Yet the shelves are all empty here in Chelyabinsk."

"But you are comparing Chelyabinsk, the country's steel center, with Grodno Oblast!"

"So is there a shortage of land in the Urals, then?..."

I heard this conversation on a train. When I was in Grodno I visited several stores. It was not total abundance, but they were offering beef, pork, packs of meat for soup, and other meat items.

"I always come to this store on Sovetskaya Square and get everything I need," N. Khrishakovich, worker at the cotton spinning mill, said. "Meat supplies are interrupted occasionally. But it would be wrong to complain about them. It is true, though, that when shoppers come in from outside the lines appear...."

So how was the food question solved in the oblast? Let's hear from Oblispolkom Chairman D. Artsimen.

"It has not been solved, it is being solved," Dmitriy Konstantinovich corrected. "First, for several 5-year plan periods running, the oblast has fulfilled and overfulfilled the meat production plan and we have been left with 25 percent of the meat plus all the above-plan output. Next, each year we purchase 14,000-15,000 tonnes of meat from the population. Industrial enterprises have their own subsidiary farms. In short, we are implementing an entire package of measures...."

...The food question. Perhaps the sorest spot in society's life, the most burning problem. A political, social, and moral problem! After all, feeding people is our first and foremost task. It was no accident that the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference set its solution as the main task. Certain positive changes have already occurred. An example of this can be seen not only in Grodno Oblast but also in Belgorod, Omsk, Zhitomir, Lipetsk, Tselinograd, and several other oblasts. The total meat output in January-July was 11,965,000 tonnes in live weight. There was a 4-percent growth compared with the corresponding period last year. Output increased 5 percent in the RSFSR, 6 percent in Belorussia, 10 percent in Kazakhstan, and 14 percent in Georgia.

But we cannot rest satisfied with these positive changes. The food question remains very acute in many RSFSR oblasts, in the Ukraine, and in the Transcaucasian republics. Moscow stores are literally stormed by visitors.

PRAVDA's mailbag contains numerous complaints about the unfair distribution of state food resources. The People's Control Committee recently studied this problem and drew the conclusion that "the existing mechanism for distribution of state food resources fails to ensure the maximum utilization of existing self-sufficiency reserves at local level everywhere. In many respects it fails to conform with the principles of social justice. The volume of produce deliveries to union republican stocks is determined according to the prevailing basis without due regard for natural and economic potential, production levels, and actual consumption."

So much for the conclusion. This mechanism encourages dependence. Take the aforementioned Chelyabinsk Oblast, for example. Indeed, it is the all-union forge. Praise and glory to it. But it also has great potential for supplying people with basic foodstuffs. Grains, potatoes, vegetables, and fruit all grow well in its fields, let alone grasses, which have always been considered a good basis for the development of stock raising. There is almost 1 hectare of pasture per head. Put a little effort into land cultivation, look after the land properly, and it will reward you a hundredfold. Which, as a matter of fact, is proved by the best stewards—the amateur truck farmers. But just like metal that rusts without due care, the soil loses its fertility when it is neglected. The oblast took advantage of grain subsidies on four occasions in the last 7 years, while its own meat and dairy produce satisfies only one-third of its requirements. Last year it brought in 53,000 tonnes of meat products from other regions of the country. And Chelyabinsk Oblast is by no means alone in this style of "economic management"!

Dependence is a great evil. It corrupts people and prevents them working with the land and on the land. Yes, the Soviet state will never abandon anyone in misfortune—it will help with grain, meat, and other resources. But the dependents should and do know that others are working on their behalf. And why should they not do some of the work themselves? To feed our own collective, rayon, city, or oblast—is this not the primary task of each and every one of us?

Dependence is one of the main causes and manifestations of social injustice and the unfair distribution of products. But before turning to this subject, let us right away find out how much meat we consume today. According to USSR State Committee for Statistics data, last year's per capita consumption of meat was 64 kg. This is close to the scientifically substantiated norm set by the country's Food Program (70 kg) and can only please us. But... The actual method used for calculations is dubious. It was developed during the stagnation years, and maybe even earlier, at a time when we were deceiving both ourselves and others by trying to prove how well we lived. But the USSR People's Control Committee has taken the gloss off statistical data. The result was—and I quote from the official document: "Calculations of per capita consumption of meat products in 1987 were based on resources including almost 1.6 million tonnes of unprocessed animal fats and Category II subproducts with no meat content." I would imagine that everyone knows that unprocessed fats are not meat. Nor are, incidentally, the subproducts. They are heads, trotters, ears, tripe.... To continue reading the document: "Tens of thousands of tonnes of meat products represented young cattle and pigs sold by sovkhozes to the population." Each one of us "consumed" 6 kg of this type of "meat" during the year. Discount this amount, and the resulting figure is far from satisfactory.

But even the remaining 58 kg per capita were only statistically supplied to every consumer. Things are quite different in real life. The existing mechanism for the distribution of food resources divides us all into "clean" and "unclean," or rather into well-fed and not-too-well-fed. Consumption of basic products in some regions and cities is already in excess of recommended norms, while elsewhere it hardly reaches 50 percent of the norm. Per capita consumption in Estonia, for example, is 18 percent above the meat norm and 12 percent above the milk norm, while the figures in Tajikistan are only 52 percent and 61 percent of the norms respectively. We will deal with the reasons why this has happened later on, but for now let us note that every defect in society is corrected by someone. In this case, the state mechanism for the distribution of products is being spontaneously corrected by people themselves. They are forced to travel dozens and even hundreds of kilometers to major centers with better supplies to buy the products they need. They stay away from work without permission or take annual leave. Having waited in long lines and listened to rude remarks like "The peasants were all we needed, we're fed up with feeding you," they hurriedly pack the sausages and meat in shopping bags, baskets, and trunks and then rush off to trains and buses. They are already accustomed to this way of life.

"So what? You might spend a day there, but you'll get enough supplies for 2 weeks for yourself and for your neighbor," I was told by a woman worker I know from the Ryazan machine tool building plant. "The neighbor will go the next time and bring you something. That's how life is...."

Indeed: That's how life is. Each year, the population of oblasts surrounding Moscow takes no less than 500,000 tonnes of meat and meat products out of the city. Look what happens: Kalinin Oblast delivers to centralized stocks 38,000 tonnes of meat, which represents one-third of its output, and according to statistical data the oblast's residents take almost one-half of this quantity out of the capital. Kaluga Oblast sends 16,000 tonnes of meat to Moscow and its residents take out more than 7,000

tonnes. Who needs all this? After all, aside from the fact that people waste a lot of time—worktime, more often than not—the transport system gets overloaded; apart from the anger and waste of nervous energy, these products get spoiled as a result of multistage transportation, the last stage without refrigeration, and... at times end up in the garbage.

A similar situation prevails in many places outside Moscow. Ponder the remark made in the Grodno store: "...when shoppers come in from outside the lines appear." The "shoppers" do not travel because they have nothing better to do. Meat in their stores can be bought only at cooperative prices.

"But what have you got against country dwellers?", I asked the oblispolkom chairman.

"That's how things are," Dmitriy Konstantinovich sighed.

Things are like that not just in Grodno. Take another oblast, Saratov Oblast for example. Saratov, which has less than one-half of the oblast's total urban population (46 percent), is allocated two-thirds of meat product stocks, or 36 kg per consumer. Residents of Engels are allocated 26 kg each, with allocations of 12 kg in Balashov and Volsk and only 7-8 kg in Atkarsk and Marx.

Products in short supply like fillet steak, prepacked ham, sausage meat, three-fourths of smoked meat products, and virtually all pelmeni and cutlets never get beyond the oblast center limits. Furthermore, the oblast center's trading organizations constantly fail to assimilate stocks. During the 1st 6 months they failed to collect 798 tonnes, a quantity equivalent to the annual stocks of the cities of Krasnoarmeysk, Marx, and Petrovsk together.

Similar "anomalies" with the distribution of products occur within the city of Saratov itself. The bulk is allocated to the city's central rayons. And people rush there from all outlying suburbs. Long lines form.

How do local authority organs respond to all this? Most of them have adopted a stance of noninterference. Leaders of trading organizations were quick to take advantage of this and have usurped the right to deal behind closed doors in products in great demand. A simple principle operates: The first to be served are those within the circle of "useful" people, mainly from the services sphere and leadership workers.

Virtually everywhere, a sizable proportion of stocks is sold through unofficial channels. During the 1st 6 months, for example the Solotcha and Laskovo dachas [as published] of the Ryazan Obkom and Oblispolkom sold 394 kg of caviar, more than 6,000 cans of crab meat, sprats, and baked cod, 565 kg of smoked sturgeon and 880 kg of smoked pork, more than 500 kg of boiled ham, 68 kg of Indian tea, and 165 kg of instant coffee and coffee beans. This accounts for between 56 and 100 percent of the entire quantity of these products allocated to the rayon trade networks.

Members of cooperatives have not wasted any time in dipping into the state's purse. I do not in any way wish to denigrate their role, but look what is happening. An inspection in Saransk showed that 7 of the 17 cooperatives set up in the autonomous republic have, during the 1st 6 months alone, bought from stores products worth R350,000 at state prices. Who knows at what price these products were later resold? And yet the idea of cooperatives is that they, by organizing their own production, will help eliminate shortages rather than aggravate them through additional dependence.

Shortages are often used as an excuse to involve people in various events. People in Krasnoyarsk have perhaps gone too far in this direction. In Kansk, in order to achieve a high turnout by the population in last April's elections for the kray soviet of people's deputies, everyone who cast a vote was allowed to buy 0.5 kg of sausage and butter.

In order to be fairer in the distribution of food, some enterprises have introduced an orders system. But even so, to put it mildly, there is no proper order. And if we were to call things by their proper names, this is no longer a convenient loophole but a huge crater through which dishonest workers shift goods in and out by the truckload. For example, what guidelines were applied by the No. 17 "Gastronom" Store in Donetsk when it sold butter at the rate of 3 kg per employee of the Glavdonetskugol Planning Office, 2 kg per employee of the gorispolkom's capital construction administration, and 1 kg per worker of the sewn goods factory? Nobody has managed to obtain a sensible answer to this question. In June, the No. 2 store of the same trading organization served only one of the six enterprises attached to it, and sold not 25 percent but 0.5 percent of the meat products received. Where did all the rest end up? In the same hands—those of "useful" people.

The current distorted mechanism for the distribution of products has a particularly painful effect on low-income families and pensioners. Unable to find anything in the state trade network, they are forced to buy meat at commission prices or on the market. According to USSR State Committee for Statistics data, the consumption of meat and dairy products by families with a monthly per capita income of less than R75 (this being the income of 43 million people in our country) has declined by 30-35 percent compared with 1970.

And now a few words about meat quality. It has particularly worsened in the last few years. Many sausage products have an unpleasant appearance and smell, while the proportion of liquids, salt, and other components has increased. It is a totally incomprehensible fact that, in the last 2 and ½ years, in 29 meat combines inspected by the USSR People's Control Committee and

the retail trade network between 3 percent and 58 percent of meat products were rejected and their sale was banned on 1,242 occasions, with 18,300 tonnes of meat resources allowed to go to waste and more than 10,000 tonnes lost. Numerous outrages came to light in Tyumen Oblast. It was there that five meat combines somehow managed to let 6,600 tonnes of secondary meat resources and 413 tonnes of meat products rot, and fell about 1,800 tonnes short of the norms and wasted this amount.

How is the food question to be alleviated? There is only one way—better economic management. As you may recall, Estonia is self-sufficient in food and has products to spare. But why is consumption in Tajikistan significantly below rational nutrition norms? Simply because livestock numbers in the republic are declining year by year and livestock productivity is poor. For many years people here paid no attention to increasing livestock numbers in rural farmyards. Furthermore, there is a law still in force that rigidly regulates livestock numbers on farms, and any animals in excess of norms are liable to confiscation.

If we work better we will have more. But this will happen tomorrow. And how are we to distribute fairly whatever we have today? This is not an easy question. It calls for thought and more thought. At present, eight republics have applied the coupon system for the sale of products. In the RSFSR, for example, it is used in 26 oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics for the sale of meat, in 32 for the sale of butter, and in 53 for the sale of sugar.

Many feel pleased with the coupon system. But even so there are quite a few instances of muddle, arbitrariness, and downright outrages. And what is more, everyone is subject to the uncontrolled power of trade network workers. "You have as much trouble with these coupons as you had without them," readers from the city of Saransk write to PRAVDA. People are not assigned to specific stores to cash in their coupons, and every month about 100,000 people travel around the city looking for places to exchange them for goods. This is not easy to do, since nobody adheres to commodity delivery schedules. For example, purchasers lined up in expectation of a delivery of sausages at the "Botevgrad" department store from early morning on 11 July, and the goods were available on sale only late in the evening. The result of this trading practice is that 13,300 meat coupons and 382,000 milk coupons were not exchanged for goods during the 1st 6 months.

It is a noteworthy fact that only some of the resources are distributed by coupon sales. Moreover, the allocation norms are set arbitrarily: per worker in some places, per capita in others. Coupons are not subject to strict accountability anywhere, many people have access to them, and this again leads to various abuses.

According to PRAVDA's readers, it is necessary to develop a system for the distribution of resources firmly guaranteeing that everyone, taking into account his work conditions and age, is able to obtain the set norm of nutrition through order desks at his place of work or residence. There is need for rigid monitoring of the sale of products, and the main work here ought to be done by soviets of people's deputies and trade union committees, according to O. Ivashko (Odessa). It is necessary to prohibit trade organizations and enterprises from releasing products in short supply on written application by organizations without permission from ispolkoms, and to close down all existing "distribution centers for a limited circle." The more glasnost there is in this work, the fewer opportunities will there be to profit from shortages.

There is also the question of changing procedures for deliveries to union republican food stocks. The current system does not provide fully effective incentives to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and food industry enterprises to develop foodstuffs production. Belgorod Oblast, which produces 143.5 kg of meat per capita, has a consumption amounting to only 49 percent of this quantity. But Voronezh Oblast, whose corresponding indicator is 112.9 kg, has a significantly higher consumption level—60 percent. A similar picture is produced by a comparison between Tambov Oblast (106.3 kg and 69 percent) and Rostov Oblast (83.3 kg and 63 percent). The result is that people who are worse at utilizing the local food potential benefit more from the state's generous "magic tablecloth." In fact, the opposite should happen.

Cartography Official on Past, Present Mapmaking

PM0509134988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 2

[V. Zaykin report under rubric "News Panorama": "'Secret' Classification Removed"]

[Text] Henceforth accurate topographical maps of our country will be available to anyone who wants them.

Our country is number one in the world when it comes to taking photographs of the earth's surface from outer space, but at the same time many maps of the Soviet Union are distorted beyond recognition. But the changes in the country have also affected Soviet cartography.

This is what IZVESTIYA was told by V. Yashchenko, chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for Geodesy and Cartography:

"Maps of the Soviet Union began to be deliberately distorted at the end of the thirties, when the Higher Geodetic Administration established by Lenin's decree was placed under the jurisdiction of the NKVD. The atmosphere of mistrust and spy mania also affected the work of cartographers. Carrying out their orders, specialists were forced to remove some points from the maps and change the location of others.... But even in the post-Stalin era, the distortion of maps for general use continued to remain a compulsory feature of our administration's work. We have received a mass of complaints.

People have been unable to recognize their own home on these maps. Tourists have tried in vain to find their bearings in the area using our maps.

"Accurate maps were classified documents, virtually without exception. We made changes even to maps on a scale of 1:2,500,000 (25 kilometers to 1 centimeter). To say nothing of the rest—the larger-scale maps. Almost everything was changed on those maps: Roads and rivers were moved, city rayons turned around, streets and buildings wrongly indicated. On a tourist map of Moscow, for example, only the contours of the capital would be partly accurate.

"With the appearance of photographs taken from space, this 'work' of ours became totally senseless. But it continued right up until this year nevertheless. Only now are we beginning to produce highly accurate maps for general use. Maps on a scale of 1:1,000,000 (the so-called 'million' map, of 10 kilometers to 1 centimeter) have now been declassified. Those on a scale of 1:500,000 are now classed as maps 'for official use.' Larger-scale topographical maps are to be declassified in the near future. They are already being used as a basis for drawing tourist maps. All the essential features of the area will be indicated on these maps in the minutest detail. They will show pathways, winter quarters for livestock, marshes, streams, springs, and wells. They will also indicate the characteristic features of forests and rivers and winter paths across the ice of lakes and marshes. In short, you will be able to rely totally on our products as they will incorporate all the necessary information.

"By the end of the 12th 5-year period we will have published new editions of all political-administrative and general geographic maps of republics, krays, and oblasts in the USSR. New maps will be printed for various kinds of independent tourist activity as well as new atlases.

"I would also like to say—not without pride—that a colossal work is now complete: We have compiled a map of the Soviet Union on a scale of 1:25,000 (250 meters to 1 centimeter). It comprises 240,000 individual pages and is currently the most accurate map of our country."

'Anti-Soviet' 'Democratic Union' Denounced

PM0609112188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Aug 88 p 2

[Article by Mikhail Lyashenko: "Democracy for One's Own Circle"]

[Text] Last week the Frunzenskiy Rayon Court examined the cases of 75 people who tried, contrary to a ban imposed by Moscow City Soviet, to hold a rally on Pushkin Square on 21 August. The fact of such a large number of people having administrative proceedings instituted against them is no ordinary matter. And it has had quite an impact.

I will not rehash the articles in our central press. The press assessments are well known and, for the most part, similar: The initiators of the abortive rally, members of the so-called "Democratic Union," were unable to arouse sympathy because they not only preached goals which are antisocialist and anti-Soviet, not only openly ignored the law and sought to exploit the pluralism of restructuring and glasnost, but deliberately incited in the center of Moscow a rowdy scene with the authorities and provoked the use of extraordinary defensive measures by the police.

As the official reports point out, 28 policemen were seriously hurt: The difficulties with which the law-enforcement agencies had to come to **grips with** [boldface as published] (here in the literal sense of that word) are obvious.

You should not be surprised, we have grown accustomed to it: Rallies and demonstrations are quite common in our cities nowadays. We know that special decrees and resolutions on the procedure for their organization and conduct have been passed. And, as a rule, informal public actions now proceed with dignity, without excesses. Democracy is alive and well and is combined with discipline. On Pushkin Square, however, where the "Democratic Union" assembled to mark the anniversary of the August 1968 events in Czechoslovakia, something else appeared, something which is, incidentally, inherent in general to the organization—legal and political nihilism. And, what is more, a desire to pin the blame on others.

It is typical that the BBC immediately broadcast a telephone interview with one of the founders of the "Democratic Union" in which he did everything to whitewash the rally organizers and accused the militia units of brutality. The Tolstoyan theme issuing from the "democrat's" lips is noteworthy: Our union, he stressed, preaches principles of nonviolence and will never permit itself violent actions.

Why did the BBC, together with VOA, Radio France, and other foreign radio stations, take such an interest in "investigating" the incident on Pushkin Square? I will venture to say that what attracts them here is the "Democratic Union's" unconcealed anti-Soviet stance. Its current leaders, after all, have long been attracted by the political slogans favored by the owners of the radio stations. You don't have to look far for examples. Valeriya Novodvorskaya, for example, was indicted for distributing anti-Soviet pamphlets as far back as 1969. Criminal proceedings have also been instituted against other "Union" activists. And not just for anti-Soviet activity. Yuriy Denisov stood trial and was convicted for defrauding customers. Kirill Podrabinek was convicted of illegally harboring a weapon.

But does the past have such significance? Particularly as so many cases of the trial and conviction of innocent people have recently become known. Let us take a closer look at the recent events.

I have an "official" "Democratic Union" publication in front of me—Bulletin No 1 (May-June 1988). I read: "The First Founding Congress of the Democratic Union (DU)—an opposition party—was held in Moscow 7-9 May." And this "party" is tackling "the question of setting up a new opposition structure—a political organization in opposition to the totalitarian system." The formulations and phrases are familiar, if only from shortwave broadcasts. And the following are the programmatic principles uniting "DU" members: "1. Condemnation of the system of political rule that arose in October 1917...." and "rejection of the ideology of Leninism." These are perhaps the key points that unambiguously define its ideological basis. Moreover, the "Democratic Union" members advocate the "...disbandment of the KGB...the abolition of military service..." I will cite further extracts from the introductory address to delegates and guests at the "congress": "First, we consider that there is no public ownership in the country and never has been because such can never exist." "Freedom of political parties, of an independent press, and trade unions free from state power...are essential if all the questions, problems, and difficulties are to be solved." "No state is free or of the people, a state does not express the interests of a particular group of citizens but regulates their mutual relations—therein lies the state's calling...." This is, of course, greatly at variance with Lenin's definition of the state, but is, after all, based on "rejecting the ideology of Leninism"!

And the "Union's" whole program is built on roughly these "scientific" discoveries. The authors, of course, hold that this marks a considerable advance on Leninism.

One participant in the "congress," who went there out of curiosity, related how he had an unpleasant feeling from the very outset that the "Union's" chicanery, exploitative clamor, and phrasemongering was strongly redolent of the secret organization the "Union of the Sword and the Eagle" in Ilf and Petrov's novel. Games are games, but the events of 21 August and potential further provocative and unlawful "Union" activity force us to think about it seriously.

After all, as part of the the "Democratic Union's immediate tasks" proclaimed at the "congress" by V. Novodvorskaya it is stated that a "political opposition organization is created for struggle.... Our place is in the streets and on the squares with pamphlets and banners, our place is in the factories, where we will...teach working people how to strike...." And then there was Pushkin Square....

What happened, then? A group of people advocating a strong anti-Soviet platform incited disorder, urged disobedience to the authorities, and exploited our present difficulties and contradictions, while we... Is a revolution (read: restructuring) necessary for us to know how to defend ourselves? The USSR Constitution forbids any harm being caused to the interests of society and the state. Surely the laws which Soviet people have drafted for themselves guarantee them defense against the "democracy" preached by opponents of the socialist system?

No one, of course, is urging that a divine gift be confused with this "omelet": In today's practice of democratization by no means everything is so simple that we are not conscious of our many weaknesses in the very defense mechanism of people's power. The documents regulating the procedure for holding meetings, rallies, streets processions, and demonstrations issued in the last 2 years are still imperfect and are quite often interpreted by people locally at their own discretion. And of course the functions of power must not be reduced to a search for grounds to ban public initiatives, but must be primarily directed toward ensuring order and control. But that, I stress, must not be confused with guarantees against anarchy and all disorder.

Recent Moscow Public Debate Meetings Described

PM0609154288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 35, 28 Aug 88 p 4

[Viktor Turshatov article: "Freedom of Assembly?"]

[Text] About meetings held in Moscow after the Decree "On the Procedure of Organization and Conduct of Rallies, Meetings, Street Processions and Demonstration in the USSR" entered into force.

The first meeting, planned for last Saturday (August 20) at Lenin Library, was never held. The Kievskiy District Executive Committee rejected the application from the meeting's sponsors—a socio-political group called Civic Courage—on grounds that the topic of the meeting: limits on subscriptions to periodicals, had already been "widely discussed in the press, with detailed explanations given".

The sponsors found no such restrictions in the new law but, after some wavering, accepted the district authorities' proposal and rented a hall instead. They held the meeting there with executive officials of the Ministry of Communications, Soyuzpechat (All-Union Agency for the Distribution of Periodicals) and Poligrafprom (Main Department of the Printing Industry). The meeting provided for a sad joke: "To exercise our constitutional rights we had to pay 100 roubles." That's how much it cost to rent the hall.

At the meeting, some participants tried to reduce the subscriptions problem to purely technical and organizational matters. Others argued that the limit on subscriptions transcended that narrow framework. They said that for the communications and the timber industry ministries to decide who should read what was patently absurd. They said the paper shortage was not the explanation and suggested their own solutions.

For instance: There are still central and local periodicals which people are obliged to subscribe to—why boost their circulations artificially? Buy paper abroad—"glasnost and perestroyka are worth any amount of foreign currency". If we still haven't learned how to recycle our waste paper, then we should sell it abroad and use the proceeds to buy regular paper. As a last resort, we might consider damming the rivers of paper produced by ministries and government departments.

Unfortunately, the executives who attended the meeting showed no interest in people's ideas and left in the middle.

In accordance with all the rules of official meetings, the participants resolved to establish a volunteer commission to study the limited subscription problem and come up with possible solutions.

Their proposal was supported at another meeting the next day under the motto: "Art is not subject to administration". But speakers didn't confine themselves to this problem alone. From an improvised rostrum they noted with satisfaction that in recent years rule by fiat of culture had been considerably weakened, though it had not disappeared altogether.

Others spoke about the need to preserve cultural monuments and protect the environment. Regrettably, the Leninskiy District Executive Committee gave the Popular Action group which sponsored the meeting an unpopular spot in front of the Luzhniki Palace of Sports. Nevertheless, some 150 people assembled there on time despite the absence of publicity.

On the same Sunday, in Pushkin Square, one could see how the prospective force of the Decree "On the Procedure..." was being enforced. In defiance of a ban imposed by the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee people tried to organize a rally to mark the 20th anniversary of the events in Czechoslovakia. Militia prevented the meeting from being held and detained the sponsors.

Readers Discuss Public Debates, Activism

PM0709152388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 88 Second Edition p 2

["Notes on Political Education" by Nikolay Kozhanov: "Living by Truth and Conscience"]

[Text] In their age-old concerns about daily bread people have never forgotten the ancient truth that man does not live by bread alone. I think that today this truth is really making itself felt and is motivating minds and holding sway over emotions more vigorously than ever before.

Interpreting this unprecedented upsurge of civic, political activeness and human self-assertion, you realize increasingly clearly that the people's troubled spirit does not require simply "bread and circuses." And sentimental and optimistic incantations on the theme "Let there be bread, and there will be song" have long since ceased to move it. In the fury of newspaper and journal battles and in the political debates which were heard from the platform of the 19th all-union party conference and which today continue unabated in homes and city squares everywhere, the people are looking for the truth about the time and about themselves, about how we lived yesterday, what we are like today, and what will happen to us tomorrow.

One recent letter in our editorial mailbag provides a remarkable description of this state of mind. "The whole people have become completely addicted to politics," A. Pustintsev from Donetsk writes. "Earlier all they talked about was the weather and soccer. Or perhaps about what had been on television the previous evening and whether Shirlits was going to get out of his latest scrape. But now, look, everyone has become a politician, and everyone understands everything: why the personality cult occurred and how to govern the country, and who to put in what post. And how they argue! Sometimes it's okay and sometimes they work themselves into a frenzy and come to blows. You listen to them and think: Heaven knows, perhaps we are still not mature enough for democracy? Or has the time come for us to mature more quickly?..."

The time has indeed come. A time when the profound meaning of Lenin's comment that "months of a revolution sometimes educate citizens more quickly and fully than decades of political stagnation" is illuminated in a new way. And indeed, now that we have looked around and "revised" our own thoughts and feelings, could any one of us now confidently claim that we would have recognized our present country and ourselves 3 years ago? Would we have believed that public life would be in such free and unfettered ferment? "Everything that only yesterday looked like demolition of the foundations has happened, but no foundations have collapsed," V. Serebryakova, a reader from Omsk, says, not without irony.

True, one could argue with her here. Certain "foundations," and quite substantial ones at that, if they have not yet collapsed completely, at the very least have been well and truly sapped. And first and foremost these are the foundations of political dogmatism, implicit obedience to postulates established once and for all at one time on high, and belief in their eternal infallibility. The cleansing wind of glasnost is permeating increasingly deeply all the pores of our social organism. Including the preserves of the party and state apparatus, where only yesterday secrecy, even about questions which were in no way secret, was sometimes observed as strictly as if our ruling party had never even contemplated emerging from underground. And now we are finally beginning to look, through all the many bureaucratic layers and excrescences, at the genuine face of the Soviet person, unretouched and unvarnished. Not the constantly cheerful

front-ranker or activist found on posters, the unfailing fulfiller of plans and socialist pledges, but just a person who thinks and feels in his own way and experiences joy and anger. A person with all his cares, tastes, interests, and desires...

Yes, some foundations are being demolished. But, of course, not those on which our faith in the rightness of the Leninist cause and the primordial ideals of October stood and stands. (Even though some imagine just this awful scenario.) Dogmas and statutes that in their very essence are alien to our socialist system are collapsing—a system that the fathers of scientific socialism nurtured, relying on the laws of society's development discovered by them, and that the pioneers of the revolution sought to implement. And in this present situation engendered by restructuring, the process of rejecting tissue foreign to socialism could not fail to come into force, a process which, like any rejection reaction, is far from painless.

"It was difficult for our wartime generation but it will be no easier for the present generation," R. Batalov from the Moscow area, who is a retired colonel and a party member since 1942, reflects. "I think that it will even be more difficult. Today our main opponent is not on the other side of the trenches and barricades, he is right next to us: In the stereotyped thinking drummed into us for decades by the administrative-edict political system. By the system that issued readymade, unquestionable truths that taught us to look at the world through the narrow blinders of dogmas..."

The rejection of the system of "unquestionable truths" is impossible without educating and establishing in society a highly developed political culture, the author concludes. And it is impossible to disagree with him here. Every one of us, to a greater or lesser degree, has to "grow mature enough for democracy," as the initial practice of the strengthening pluralism shows. Practice which, together with its unquestionably positive features that are cleansing our moral atmosphere, is also revealing some features that do not inspire optimism.

What are we talking about here? Certainly about what perplexed our reader—about arguments "at fever pitch;" in other words, about the manifestations of a lack of political culture that make themselves felt not only in shop smoking rooms and street skirmishes. About the timidity of certain workers, including those specializing in ideology, and their inability to conduct polemics in public and to rebuff the demagogues, or, in other cases, crude oversimplification and aggressive rejection of other viewpoints. Democratization, as one letter notes, not without foundation, "has loosened tongues but has by no means taught everyone respect for their opponent and the ability to listen to and understand his arguments and assess his viewpoint. And this leads to undesirable consequences even at the level of a communal apartment quarrel, not to mention deeds and decisions on a state scale..."

In this respect the editorial mailbag gives us more than enough examples of "undesirable consequences." And at all levels—from verbal (alas, not only verbal) fights on Tverskiy Boulevard to the "dialogue of the deaf" in polemical articles by certain press organs. Higher spheres are not ignored. In a number of letters readers ascribe the failure of recent legislative acts such as the struggle against unearned income, which degenerated into the victimization of old women around the markets, or the sudden introduction of an excessively stringent tax on cooperatives precisely to the failure to "consult the people" in advance and to the lack of constructive debate and open comparison of various aspects of the problem, with all its pros and cons.

The all-union party conference, which, as V. Sitnikov (Moscow) put it, was "an all-union school of democracy," clearly revealed the state of political culture in the party and society. It was indeed a school. And an impartial school. Glasnost and television clearly showed not only the position but the level of political thinking, erudition, character, and even temperament of the speakers. The editorial office is still receiving dozens of letters in which readers thoroughly analyze and compare various speeches and rejoinders and the audience reaction.

"For all the undoubted success of the conference, one nonetheless cannot ignore the speeches and interjections in which emotions and prejudice got out of control," for example, V. Samorukov, senior scientific worker at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Physical Chemistry and propagandist, notes. "I am referring to the remarks about the press, and the malevolent reaction of many delegates to speeches from the platform by representatives of the press... Unfortunately, accusations of 'political immaturity' are becoming fashionable. This was also reflected at the conference. One of the speakers, someone who was still young, even called 'immature' the applause of delegates some of whom were old enough to be his father. This is where glasnost, like a searchlight, really spotlights who's who."

But is not all this carping at speeches and ill-considered formulas excessive? Far from it. Life shows that clarifying and defining one's position, including its verbal expression, are an important and inalienable element of political culture and that the consequences of "unthinking" remarks are by no means always harmless.

Here is an example. A few years ago, toward the "close" of the so-called stagnation era, I was preparing a report on an Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum devoted to ideological questions. What immediately attracted my attention was this: The report and debates insistently repeated the phrase about the "healthy moral and political atmosphere" created in the republic. This incantatory formula did not tally with the true state of affairs. Never mind the alarming mail from Armenia, even during those few days spent in Yerevan and Kirovakan and in rural rayon I heard enough in

conversations with Communists about the epidemic of bribery and extortion at many levels and about the shameless trade in posts conducted virtually openly. But after the plenum, when I met with then First Secretary K. Demirchyan and tried to broach this subject, I was immediately stopped by a familiar "iron" formula:

"You must know that the fact of the creation of a healthy moral and political atmosphere in the republic was confirmed by the recent party Central Committee resolution."

An incontrovertible argument, so to speak. Particularly then. There you see the price of a hasty and complimentary political assessment which is at odds with the truth! Who knows how much more quickly changes in the republic's life would have occurred if its leaders at that time had not had in their hands such a weighty indulgence.

"Iron" formulas to suit all occasions, "politically loaded" epithets for those who dissent and disagree, and the common labels of "alien" and "consumerist philistine" ideology and morality—their time would seem to have passed. Restructuring has arrived. But no, even now information is arriving from various corners of the country about throwbacks to "witch hunts" and suppression of "anarchic ways." (The press has already described the rumpus among certain leading workers in Kirghizia at the "spontaneous" decision by the inhabitants of the village of Manas to recall deputies who had not vindicated their trust.) In short, the formation of a genuine political culture according with the ideas of renewal is still a process which is by no means complete.

But is it really only a question of "out-of-the-way corners"? Sometimes things are not so wonderful in the center. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA recently carried a complaint that "arguments among the intelligentsia at times are simply indecent, the arguments are falsified and unscrupulous and the attacks are unworthy. Moreover, "there are calls for virtual civil war."

Harsh language. Perhaps there is a certain excess of emotion here, but it is not easy to refute the complaint. Our mail increasingly often carries certain jarring notes, testifying to a breach of the "rules of the game," in our present multicolored palette of opinions, in the "pluralist revelry," as one reader expressed it.

Thus, for example, several letters mention a long article in a heavyweight sociopolitical journal devoted to our economic problems and their sources, an article about how vital personal enterprise and human initiative have been for the country at all times. "Everything would be fine and the author is erudite and talented, but he is so carried away with his own concept that he paints a downright triumphant picture of the unprecedented rise and blossoming of the prerevolutionary Russian economy, and the notorious Stolypin appears as virtually its only benefactor. As if there were no hungry or crisis-hit years in Russia at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, as if colossal social tension had not accumulated at that time in its cities and villages, to erupt in three revolutions in the space of 12 years..."

There is reason for the reproach. What happens, of course, is this: People say all kinds of things in refuting old dogmas or in the heat of polemic; nevertheless, true political culture presupposes preventing subjectivist distortions and the overemphasis of some facts that "suit" the author and the stifling of others which do not fit. It also presupposes honesty in making assessments, clarity of position, and respect for the reader, interlocutor, and audience. True, there seem to be some grounds for the assumptions expressed in some letters that the turbulent discordance of opinions and views, hasty "discoveries" and "sensational" conclusions, and the hysteria of mutual recriminations are frequently determined not so much by particular people's inward conviction nurtured on the basis of conscientious study of the subject as by their ambition, group bias, and concern for personal self-assertion. As noted in one of the letters already mentioned, "in the glasnost era the most important thing for some people is to be able to shout louder in order to make political capital."

And one more question—connected, I think, with the last one—is increasingly heard in letters and in conversations with activists on the ideological front. Here is how the propagandist R. Khusyainov from Tataria formulated it:

"Imagine what it is like for our lecturers, propagandists, and agitators in the present situation. How can you distinguish against the 'background noise' of democracy the engineers of restructuring from its parasites and freeloaders, leaders from bureaucrats, searchers for the truth from demagogues, innovators in the social search from the extremist 'informal organizations' that have proliferated? Or, for example, active defenders of national holy places and traditions from 'figures' sowing in people's minds the seeds of chauvinism, nationalism, and ethnic strife?.."

This is a serious question. And there is no simple answer to it. Revolutionary, social storms that unseal the springs of popular initiative covered in the dead slime of immobility and stagnation inevitably also bring to the surface a great deal of sediment of various sorts. One thing is clear: The society we are building today needs not just democracy, but socialist democracy, intelligent democracy, the thinking, responsible democracy of a realism that elevates and inspires man. And the way toward it is again inextricably bound up with cultivating a highly developed political culture among the masses. It is no accident that this is mentioned as one of the most important tasks in the documents of the 19th party conference and the Central Committee July Plenum and in the recent CPSU Central Committee resolution on political studies in the Ulyanov Oblast party organization.

Well, dear readers, let us think together about how to proceed along this path with the fewest problems and with maximum efficiency so that the cause of restructuring fares better. So that people, while concerning themselves with their daily bread, live, as people should, by truth and conscience, justice and freedom, morality and humanism.

And may your ideas become the basis for further discussion on this most topical subject at the present time.

Glasnost, Standards of Debate Discussed

PM0809100188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Sep 88 Second Edition p 3

[L. Kurin article under the "Publicist's Notes" rubric: "Tact"]

[Text] I would like to begin with a kind of epigraph—a few random examples taken from everyday life.

...A quotation: "Variety in love based on partner-swapping must be replaced, as life demands, by the variety of constant partnership." This quote does not come from a foreign publication specializing in pornography but from the magazine SOVETSKIY EKRAN.

...In Tallinn, the local newspaper VECHERKA reports, they have decided to give a money reward to anyone who discovers that his neighbor is making hooch and reports him.

...And the following phrases: "a low ideological standard," "defaming reality," "unjustified improvisation," "ideological sabotage," "we demand a ban," "let us eradicate." All these expressions date from not 50 years ago, not 30 years ago, not even 10 years ago. They are taken from letters postmarked 1988.

I quote these examples not merely for the sake of it. They are the starting point for a discussion on pluralism, responsibility, and tact.

Glasnost is the sign of the times today. A time of honest searches and sincere doubts, a time of sharp clashes and heated disputes, a time when socialist pluralism is becoming the norm.

Democratization and glasnost have released a mighty torrent of ideas, emotions, and initiatives. People have begun to express their opinion openly and freely. Of course, there have been instances of distortion and immoderation. These things happen. But a fear of excess and distortion must not stop glasnost and openness or even slow them down slightly. After all, we are only just learning how to debate and discuss. And that, to be blunt, is both difficult and unfamiliar. And there are no teachers, mentors, or moral guides in this learning process. It turns out that we are all students. And the more diligent the student, the greater his prestige. This was demonstrated with the utmost clarity by the all-union party conference. The conference presented the broadest range of approaches, opinions, and assessments as well as errors, a fact which no one tries to hide. The conference was a magnificent political schooling. A schooling in honesty, openness, and sincerity.

That school grew and burst forth from the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses into squares and stadiums, youth auditoriums and clubs, the meeting halls, red corners, and ordinary smoking rooms. How is this millions-strong political school to retain the atmosphere of openness, sincerity, and benevolence characteristic of and inherent in the conference? How is this nationwide school to be freed of the commander's reprimand, bureaucratic moralizing, or stage-managed formalism? How is it to be protected against violent speeches, unbridled passions, and extremism from any side—left and right?

Let us look at some recent regrettable, even tragic episodes. There were fights and clashes with the militia in the Urals town of Alapayevsk and Morshansk in Tambov, and everyone knows how they ended. In deaths, injuries, absolute carnage. How did it all begin? With an impudent grin and a cry of: "Now we have glasnost and democracy I'll shout what I want, I'll take what I want." And they shouted, they took, and if anyone disagreed they punched them in the mouth. It is also well known how the recent gathering of the so-called "Democratic Union" on Moscow's Pushkin Square ended. All these events are of a single type, a single order or, more accurately, disorder. It is just a single step from the blind eruption of base passions and even naive brashness to the conscious violation of the law and premeditated provocation. And not such a long step either. The only difference is that in the one case the ringleaders were "common criminals" while in the other they were members of an informal movement who considered themselves intellectuals. In the one instance they catcalled and swore, in the other they shouted out all kinds of anti-Soviet stuff. In both cases there was the same cry: "Anything goes now."

And other people who interpret the principles of socialist pluralism in their own way and to suit their own taste are trying to use that cry-cum-slogan as a kind of figleaf to hide behind. But theirs is a very loose interpretation.

This, perhaps, is the right moment to return to that quotation from SOVETSKIY EKRAN. It probably isn't worth repeating. Let us simply explain its gist. It is highly fashionable nowadays to show on the movie screen heroines who are either almost or completely naked as well as married couples in bed discussing various topical themes. This method was recently used highly effectively on television with the characters in Dead Souls. You will agree that it isn't far from here to "partner-swapping." "So what?" people ask, "there is pluralism here, after all, anything goes."

Tactlessness is nurtured equally by vulgarized sociology, arrogant dogmatism, and bureaucratic quotation-mongering on the one hand, and heightened emotionalism developing into quick-temperedness, conceit, an unwillingness to heed a different opinion, sometimes even to listen to it at all, a certain brashness in one's approach to politics, ideology, and culture, and rudeness and spite.

But what best helps disputes and polemics, even if they are heated, keen, and passionate? Weighty reasoning, a solid argument, and conviction based on facts.

Let us recall the heated debate that ensued about 2 years ago over the personality of Stalin. I would stress here: not the personality cult but the personality itself. Let us not go over all the aspects of that debate again. After the first emotions had boiled over like water seething in a kettle they gave way to detailed and well argued materials in the press that used concrete events, episodes, and facts to show how Stalin and his entourage acted in given situations. Did the passions subside, did the emotional tone diminish because of that? Surely not. But the passion, emotional tone, and feelings changed in level and quality. From the sphere of outwardly effective emotional language and mutual recriminations they went deeper, into the soul. And they became more spiritual and considered.

Hence the consequences. No longer do you hear people say over the telephone: "I'll smash your skull in!" (as they used to say, and in harsher and more colorful terms than that). Now you hardly ever receive letters which really—openly and directly—defend Stalin.

Consequently people have more or less understood the personality. Yet they still haven't fully grasped the consequences of the personality cult. It is quite clear why. Those consequences are many. Too many to count. They are to be found not only in the economy, politics, ideology, and culture but in people's habits, sympathies, and antipathies. In the most mundane things of all.

And as soon as they begin examining these consequences in specific terms they may begin hearing anger, rudeness, and emotional rhetorical questions in reply.

One could quote examples. Here is one. This year PRAVDA carried an article entitled "Lenin's Testament." It said in particular that the content of **absolutely** secret, **utterly** [boldface as published] secret documents from Lenin's testament was immediately bequeathed to Stalin covertly and stealthily. Well, the majority of the written responses to this article (and there were very many of them) assessed this particular and concrete fact fairly and in a principled way. But there were also letters in which the blatant denunciations and informing and the obligatory use of those methods were not only not condemned but conversely seemed to be praised. That is how it must be, they say. And then that same emotional and rhetorical question: "Well, what of it?"

Here is another example. The article "Lenin's Testament" and another detailed item entitled "The Georgian Incident" cited specific facts to show Stalin's crudeness and spite. Lenin's comment that spite as a rule is a very bad thing in politics was also quoted. Once more that tiresome question "Well, what of it?" crops up. Some of those who sent responses went even further and tried to justify both the rudeness and the spite in politics, ideology, and culture. And not so much because they were defending Stalin as because the rudeness pleased them and the spite was near to their hearts.

It is Stalin's iron logic: The ends justify all means. Rudeness, spite, informing, and provocation.

Now let us leave big politics and return to the second example cited at the beginning of this article. Remember what it said: Keep tabs on your neighbor, he might be a moonshiner, perhaps he's up to something else... Follow him, keep tabs on him—keep your eyes peeled, there's money in it for you.

Why and how did the hackneyed phrases cited at the beginning of the article come to light in the eighties, in the 4th year of restructuring? It is worth repeating some of them. For example: "a low ideological standard," "defaming reality," "unjustified improvisation," "ideological sabotage," "we demand a ban," and "let us eradicate."

The simplest thing of all would be to lump them all together under the stereotyped cliche: "relics of the past." But no, they have been produced or rather reproduced by the polemic now in progress throughout the country. A polemic in which there is a clash between good and evil, ambition and honesty, conscience and irresponsibility, demagoguery and sincerity.

Like it or not, everywhere you have to make a choice. Either you support gross output or you support the cost-cutting mechanism. Either you support honest competition or you are for favoritism and nepotism. Either you support anarchy or you support law and order.

Furthermore, you have to choose for yourself without orders, commands, or compulsion. Thus you have to make your own decision about how things stand: You have to see how things are with others; you have to know how to ask and how to listen; you have to know how to discuss what is contentious and unclear; you have to know how to take account of someone else's opinion, often one you dislike, and even respect it although you disagree with it. Finally, you have to formulate definite views, establish the landmarks and choose your path on that basis.

It is perfectly natural that the customary principle of evaluation—like or dislike—may come to the fore at first in this very difficult process which requires not recklessness but courage and common sense, not haste but patience and inquisitiveness. There is nothing wrong in that principle.

But why is it that the sometimes intuitive "like-dislike" principle is immediately followed by the judgment: "ban," "eradicate," and so on and so forth.

Say, for example, that a man has read some poetry, a play, a novel, or an historical essay—something displeased him, it wasn't to his liking or his taste. Immediately he takes up pen and paper and writes to the highest authorities saying "we demand (invariably he uses the plural!) that this poetry (this play, this novel) be banned, we demand that the author and the editor be called to account." Just because "we" didn't like what we read.

Here is another example. Say a man has read some poetry. Very fashionable poetry. It didn't move him. Well, that happens. Or the verses were too sophisticated. Or the man was simply not ready for such sophisticated poetry. He decided honestly and frankly to express his opinion among his friends without trying to foist it on anyone. Just to share his impressions with them. Among a certain company of people he may very easily be branded an "enemy of restructuring." That has happened more than once. I know it from my own experience. You can have whatever view you like on Tolstoy, Dostoyevskiy, or Yesenin and compare them according to your own mind or taste. But on no account offend writers, poets, or dramatists whose works are current today.

The old stereotypes have been replaced by new ones, but stereotypes all the same. Let us consider: How are they better than the old soul-chilling ones? In both cases, as soon as you express a dislike a political label is indiscriminately clapped on you.

I took phenomena that were on the surface. But nowadays there are many phenomena which are far more subtle, far more complex, far more contradictory. They must be investigated, too. Therefore, do not stop at the first "like-dislike" impression. Listen to what others are saying. If you disagree, discuss it. If they disagree with you, convince them. But without resorting to labels, abuse, and spite.

IZVESTIYA Explains Dangers of Demagoguery

PM0709120988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences L. Ponomarev and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Shinkarenko: "Demagoguery. Reflections on Its Sources, Nature, and Danger"]

[Text] From ancient times people who played for their own ends on the feelings and desires of the masses and misled them have been described as demagogues. This verbal dichotomy is the result of real historical processes that have also affected language. It reflects the very essence of demagoguery—its self-interested duplicity.

A lie with the appearance of truth—that is how demagoguery has appeared to all the peoples at all times. In effect, it is the same today at the close of the 20th century. The revolutionary restructuring of society has brought to life millions of new opinions. And consequently, millions of doubts also. However, amid the multitude of voices gathering pace in the course of the broadening and deepening of socialist pluralism of opinions one can hear the particularly constant voices of the demagogues. This prompts caution.

It is well known from our experience and foreign experience that demagoguery is a powerful ideological weapon that is used extensively by the most diverse social trends. It is employed as a means of political struggle by leftists and rightists, moderates and radicals, reactionaries and vanguardists—all those who are in principle far removed from socialism. But even socialism's supporters are subject to the influence of diverse social groups, political trends, and national and cultural values—it is not always possible for them all to avoid demagogic deviations. There are more than enough examples of this. We are forced to admit that demagoguery was in vogue for decades in our country after Stalin elevated it practically to the rank of state policy. Is it coincidence that even today a good half of our energies are expended on verbiage and idle prattling?

The opponents of Lenin's concept of socialism always used and still use all kinds of demagogic devices. But whereas at one time Trotskiy and his supporters openly opposed Lenin's ideas with outbursts of demagoguery, the demagoguery of Stalin and his successors proved considerably more insidious. For instance, the "leader of the peoples" always depicted himself as the true follower of V.I. Lenin. But while using his name and prestige, he ascribed to Lenin his own interpretation of socialism and his own erroneous conclusions, including those that served as grounds for unleashing mass repressions. This rendered him invulnerable to criticism. Is it coincidence that Stalin's works which were subsequently incorporated in a collection of his writings were first published in periodically updated anthologies (11 such editions were published) entitled "Questions of Leninism"?

The 9-volume edition of works published by L.I. Brezhnev, who is presented in the last volume as an "outstanding Communist of the Leninist school" and under whose leadership "impressive successes" were achieved "for our people," is also entitled "Following Lenin's Course." M.A. Suslov wrote a great deal about Leninism and Lenin's style of work. D.A. Kunayev, G.V. Romanov, V.V. Grishin, and K.U. Chernenko... convinced our society of their loyalty to Lenin's behests. In their wake many people—academicians, doctors and candidates of sciences, journalists, lecturers, and ordinary propagandists—took a hand in theoretically justifying the undoubted greatness of the era that we now tactfully call the period of stagnation.

Today people ask: How can we protect ourselves against demagoguery when reviving the Leninist essence of socialism? This is one of the most acute questions that the course of restructuring has set the party.

It can first be answered by saying that when setting about the resolution of the most complex tasks of socialist building we must guard ourselves against the temptation of simplifying them. At one time it was this simplistic approach that laid the ground for demagogic claims that communism can easily be built by the efforts of a single generation. What alluring hopes this illusion engendered! Playing on the prestige of scholars of Marxism-Leninism, the demagogues imputed to them thoughts that they—the scholars—did not have and could not have had since they lived in a different historical era. Using pseudoscientific calculations to justify allegedly scientifically gauged but in fact arbitrary figures which were designed to characterize our advance toward communism but which in fact only characterized the irresponsibility of their compilers, in the early sixties demagogues skillfully exploited the people's natural desire to attain more rapidly the longed-for goal and their profound faith in the party and once again presented them with the thesis that the present generation of Soviet people "will live under communism." The grave political cost of these demagogic gestures is now plain. In this connection it is worth mentioning the words of V.I. Lenin, who reckoned that "demagoguery is tantamount to making unrealizable promises." "It is easy," he wrote, "to make demagogic promises. But life soon shows that they are unrealizable and exposes the opportunism of 'rosy-hued dreams'." Vladimir Ilich warned the party on many occasions of the danger of "succumbing to demagoguery."

Demagogic methods in politics—even if they produce short-term results—invariably end up the same way: by disappointing and increasing the skepticism of the masses. Many of the people who in the early sixties were filled with enthusiasm by the imminent fulfillment of the dream of communism began in the future not to trust even real directives. As a result society to this day is forced to pay dear for the lightweight promises of long ago.

Today many bright reassuring things are entering our life, and this cannot fail to make an impact on public sentiments. After so many years of enforced silence people want frankness, and after decades of unbelief they have once again come to believe that this is not just idle talk now. This is very good. Hence restructuring—ensuring the irreversibility of which is now becoming the main concern of the masses. Hence glasnost.

It is important to stress here that it is a question of true glasnost which has nothing in common with gossip. Especially with all the various kinds of conjecture and disinformation, empty promises, fabricated accusations, and unequivocal threats and foolish prophecies that are again being set in motion—they are being used by the opponents of restructuring masquerading as well-wishers.

Whose voices are trying to deform glasnost and impart to it a nuance of demagoguery? Above all those who are increasingly hoping to further abuse their power. They are, so to speak, voices from above. Whereas from below or—to be more precise—from the side pipes up a chorus of bribetakers, scroungers, quiet loafers, and noisy chatterboxes who hide behind cries of restructuring their own selfish designs and actions.

All this ill-assorted babble playing on the name of restructuring is growing more widespread and strengthening at times more rapidly than the voices of society's healthy forces. Demagoguery suppresses the truth and, by exploiting freedom of speech, flouts this freedom and transforms it into freedom of demagoguery.

"Interest has no memory since it thinks only about itself. It does not forget the one thing that is dearer to its heart than anything—itself. Contradictions don't trouble it one bit since it does not conflict with itself. It constantly improvises since it has no system, only tricks..." These are Marx's words—the key to understanding the logic of all the current demagogues and, primarily, the demagogues from the bureaucracy.

Life attests that however a particular bureaucrat may belabor his loyalty to socialist ideals and principles, in real life he most often acts on the basis of the main principle: under no circumstances to harm himself. For he himself gauges everything by this even if the thought of this never occurred to him. In this respect all demagogues are alike for they are true servants of their own interest alone, clothed in the bright raiment of the hopes and aspirations of the masses.

At one time V.I. Lenin maliciously derided the empty prattling of deputies to the Third Duma: "The story of how Ivan Ivanych accused Ivan Nikiforych of demagoguery and vice versa. You are a demagogue, Ivan Ivanych said to Ivan Nikiforych, since you are in power and you exploit this in order to increase your own influence and your own power; moreover, you plead the population's national interests. No, you are a demagogue, Ivan Nikiforych said to Ivan Ivanych, for you shout loudly in a public place that there is only arbitrary rule in our country and no constitution and no fundamental laws, moreover you hint quite rudely at some sacrifice of our dignity." Truly immortal lines that expose bureaucrats speculating on national interests.

But times are changing. The masses have grown sick and tired of hearing irresponsible prattling, notably declarations like "they discussed keenly," "they outlined a program," "a plan has already been compiled," and so on which lack one vital ingredient: what specifically has been done and what people get out of it. The party

conference graphically demonstrated that the voices of ordinary Communists can increasingly be heard to protest that their leaders usually plundered the demagogic arsenal of former times when discussing acute problems. The antidemagogic tendency will evidently grow stronger in the course of the upcoming reports and elections in party organizations that are designed to be an important phase in the practical implementation of the directives elaborated by the 19th all-union party conference.

Protests are also expanding against sectoral demagoguery that uses the name of the state in those places where in fact only departmental interest is at issue.

There is increasingly less trust in demagogues with academic degrees. The crisis of confidence is evident and, alas, logical: How can one now rely on the opinion, for instance, of those economists and ecologists who set in motion the idea of diverting the northern rivers and flooding the most fertile lands? Or the opinion of those scientists who falsified our history throughout their lifetime and are now ardently calling for the restoration of truth through "common efforts"?

The demagogue who is not on anyone's payroll is even bolder and more vigorous in his ad hoc appearances. He confidently lives off the most acute problems of restructuring and reacts instantly to the latest news, quickly and easily joining forces "against" just as he can also join forces "for." Surely this was illustrated by the constant demagogic antics of the "refuseniks"? What about the way passions were doggedly fueled on the nationalities question? Wasn't this illustrated by loafers prattling about excessively high incomes in the sphere of individual labor activity? But how many such fantastic demands are made by those people who are linked by nothing apart from a desire to flaunt themselves as fighters for the truth?

In order to do this, demagogues are prepared not only, as they say, to jump the gun but also to constantly warn us of resolute actions and intimidate us with the dreadful consequences allegedly threatened by the serious changes that are under way today that society cannot do without. Society in the clutches of shortages is preoccupied with ensuring a more rapid improvement in the economy and economic progress; in order for this, in particular, individual labor activity and the cooperative movement must be broadly developed and joint enterprises with foreign firms are being created. But since the first steps that we took along the new path the voices of official and unofficial demagogues issuing formidable warnings have not fallen silent: We are encroaching on the fundamentals, we are threatening sacrosanct matters. The new economic thinking is coming up against powerful opposition from those who are interested not so much in public prosperity as in ensuring that the innovations do not destroy the economic relations that grew strong in the time of stagnation whereby the vast bureaucratic apparatus was able to live a comfortable and idle existence absolutely independent of the results of economic activity.

The litmus test of restructuring is the attitude to Stalin's brand of demagoguery, that is, to servile thought which stands stiffly to attention at the first sound of the approaching steps of its superior. The dead catches hold of the living! This is possibly what K. Marx would exclaim once again if he chanced to analyze the condition in which we now find ourselves. Stalinist demagoguery has proved so tenacious that even now it is still preventing millions of people from understanding the nature of the present changes—vast masses of people are still held in thrall by dogmas created as a result of Lenin's ideas being distorted. Some do not understand, while others turn a blind eye to the most important point: Socialism must not, cannot run contrary to common sense.

Confronted with another problem posed by the time in which we live, we turn to the classics of Marxism-Leninism in order to get to grips with the nature of the phenomenon. But here we are warned off by demagogues with academic degrees. The path of probing thought immediately becomes strewn with the traps of the dogmas which have fed these "seekers" of scientific truth for decades and which even now provide them with their daily bread.

Demagoguery is a powerful weapon in the hands of those who wield authority or aspire to it. It is a weapon taken up by various forces interested in supporting the masses against the masses. Not all, it is true, resort to its services consciously. Among the political demagogues there are always people who have a sacred belief in their own rightness. But the essence does not change because of this: The sincere error of one can lead to the delusion of the masses.

There is no doubt that speeding up the process of restructuring will create the conditions under which demagoguery will lose its attraction. But until this becomes reality, demagoguery can try to make the most of its opportunity. This danger comes from forces opposed to restructuring. They are making their own preparations for the forthcoming crucial political decisions to be implemented in the near future. We are mainly thinking of the nationwide discussion on the draft Law on Amendments and Addenda to the USSR Constitution and the draft Law on the Election of USSR People's Deputies to begin in October 1988; the discussion on the elections themselves, which are going to be held in March 1989; and, finally, the discussion on the work of the USSR people's deputies congress, which will elect the USSR Supreme Soviet and decide other important issues in April 1989.

Analysis of a number of situations that have arisen in recent years gives us reason to expect that during the forthcoming major political actions the intensity and diversity of demagogic methods may sharply increase. To prevent this from happening, to ensure that the debates, discussions, choice of alternatives, and decisionmaking process do not develop into empty words that only agitate and irritate the people rather than being businesslike and constructive, we need real action to uphold our party and civic position, as well as high political standards.

Civic boldness is still not, in itself, a panacea for demagoguery. Knowledge is the real force to channel this boldness in the right direction. Basically, demagoguery is nothing other than a perversion of the truth. So what can expose it? The real truth conveyed to the people and nothing else.

True knowledge unmasks deception. If we are talking about social demagoguery as a whole, it must be countered by a well organized process of informing the masses of the far-reaching events in our life. This is one of the most important tasks of socialism, which has a vital interest in ensuring that the masses, to quote V.I. Lenin, are aware of everything and go into everything consciously.

According to Lenin, socialism needs the fullest possible knowledge and enlightenment among the masses. It needs there to be an open dialogue between different social groups working toward a common goal. This dialogue is not easy, of course: Interests far from always coincide. Problems arise that cannot immediately be solved. And who has never had problems or will not have them in the future? It means that they must be patiently unraveled and, what is more, not on the quiet but for all to see, together. Clearly, it must be an equal dialogue between all the participants. But this can only happen when the masses possess the information necessary for making a decision. That is, when the party conference resolution "On Glasnost" develops from a political directive into an integral part of everyday life.

We still know little about what is happening in our society. It was believed at one time that only God is all-knowing. Then it was thought that Stalin knew everything. Now we have to get used to the idea that only society itself can and must be all-knowing.

The problem is becoming particularly acute with the development of people's socialist self-management. Without properly supplied information, it threatens to develop into a demagogic imitation of people's power. Only a system of nationwide information easily accessible to every Soviet citizen can guarantee successful self-management and the continued development of glasnost.

Real action is the judge of any demagoguery. Not wishing to be exposed, the demagogue will advocate ideas that appear to be irrefutable. He builds projects stretching into the future, claiming they are well considered, scientific plans, while at the same time counting on the nature of human psychology: People dream of a better future and are mostly predisposed to overestimating their own strengths. Sociological research shows that there are far more optimists in our society than pessimists. This is good. But unrestrained optimism is also fertile ground for demagoguery.

Consequently, sobermindedness is required in every responsible act, however small. Not morbid suspicion. Not mistrust. Not a sapper-like vigilance that exhausts the spirit. But something akin to the professional vigilance of the hard-working taxi driver who, without losing his grip on the steering wheel, takes part in heated discussions with his passengers while at the same time being able to keep his eye on the road.

The party conference has set a new tempo for the whole of our life and the changes taking place within it. But we must not close our eyes to the fact that not everyone agrees with the changes and not everyone is able to work in the new way. This means that there will still be considerable demagoguery. The revolutionary restructuring process has not only brought healthy forces to life, it has also mercilessly exposed everything previously concealed by the still, smooth surface of stagnation. It is now extremely important not to allow oneself to be drawn into the demagogic bustle and empty chatter.

Educational Restructuring Discussed in Ukraine

AU0609143588 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 31 Aug 88 p 2

[RATAU report on the results of the August conferences of public education workers: "The School Today and Tomorrow"]

[Excerpts] Businesslike and concrete discussions, in which the tone was set by Communist teachers and party committees, took place at the August conferences of the republic's public education workers. Ways of implementing the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and those of the February and July (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenums were examined. It was noted that the documents adopted by the conference and the plenums included recommendations on school restructuring, which is an important nationwide task. [passage omitted]

The conferences pertinently tackled the need to intensify the ideological-political, patriotic, and internationalist education of young people, and to foster among them the feeling of responsibility for the world's destinies and the homeland's future. It was noted that in the republic, which is inhabited by many ethnic groups, the needs for teaching children in their native language have for the

most part been met. But there are also unsettled problems in this field. Under the conditions of native Russian bilingualism, it is essential to give parents, particularly in cities, the opportunity to choose between Ukrainian- and Russian-language schools, classes, or kindergarten groups. The need to rule out the cases in which pupils of Russian-language schools are being groundlessly exempted from learning Ukrainian and to ensure that the languages are learned well was noted.

As noted at the conferences, in Odessa, Crimean, Kherson, and Donetsk Oblasts optional groups have been formed to learn the languages of other ethnic groups living in the republic: Bulgarian, Crimean Tatar, and modern Greek. Optional groups are being organized to learn Polish. This matter is to be handled tactfully and subtly, and all conditions are to be created for those interested in learning national languages. [passage omitted]

Participating in the businesslike and intense discussions on deepening restructuring in the general education and vocational school were leading functionaries of the republic's party and administrative organs, the Trade Unions Council, and the Komsomol Central Committee; obkom, gorkom, and raykom secretaries and bureau members; leaders and specialists of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Public Education and other ministries, departments, and creative unions; scientists and lecturers; party, war, and labor veterans; and representatives of the public.

Lithuanian Bishop Permitted To Visit Rome

AU0709130388 Paris AFP in English 0750 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Rome, Sept 7 (AFP)—Lithuanian bishop Monsignor Julijonas Steponavicius, who has for several years been denied permission to minister in Lithuania, will be allowed to come to Rome next month, the Italian news agency ANSA said.

The 77-year-old bishop said he had high hopes Pope John Paul II would come to Lithuania within two years.

Msgr. Steponavicius said he now had all the necessary authorization to see the pope, ANSA reported.

He was quoted as saying: "We hope for a lot from perestroyka," although he said he wanted fine words translated into actions.

Lithuania's Shepetis Comments on 'Extremism'

PM0209081488 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 1 Sep 88 p 3

[Interview with L. Shepetis, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent Yu. Solomonov under the rubric "Meeting on an Urgent Matter": "The Ideologist and Restructuring"; date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Solomonov] Life sometimes sends us things that could hardly be predicted. We could hardly have guessed that so many different groups, currents, and public movements would pour out into the streets in the period of glasnost. This upsurge is the consequence of the people's long silence and the prevalence of official ideological principles, slogans, and currents. Now it appears that the people had and still have a highly committed attitude to many problems. Public self-awareness was developing and had its own polyphony of ideas and feelings even in the stagnation years. Only there was no outlet for all this. And this asphyxia, if I can put it like that, led to distortions and deformations of thinking and the emergence of extremism in various forms. That is why the ideologist now encounters situations that are entirely unexpected and extreme. Recently, for instance, I saw some people in a Vilnius square who had declared a hunger strike. They are demanding the release from imprisonment of people who were supposedly condemned for their convictions. What is the ideologist's role in such extreme situations?

[Shepetis] I think in these situations it is important to talk everything through. Surely a demand to free someone from imprisonment should not be addressed to just anyone? Recently, for instance, I received a telegram from an American writing club. They too are pleading for the release of a supposedly innocent person who was sentenced in Lithuania. But this club is patently appealing to the wrong people. Today, when we are talking so much about a rule-of-law state, when the question of the separation of powers was a key question at the conference.... Obviously the club realizes that a party worker still has influence, and I intend to seek a review of this convict's case, although the judiciary must have the last word.

But let us come back to your example. Of course, nobody can ban people from fasting. But you must be aware what you want to achieve through a hunger strike. I have read that a man went on hunger strike in Leningrad because they did not appoint him director of a movie. Things are becoming absurd here. But in our case, we should look into the matter seriously. If the people the hunger strikers are concerned about were unjustly convicted, evidence of their innocence must be submitted to the court organs. If they were convicted in accordance with an article of the Criminal Code, then what room is there for any dispute? There are things that are prohibited by the constitutions of the country and the republic. And if people have broken the law, they must be held to account as legislation provides. It is another matter that the times are making us review legislation too. In particular, the article under which these people were convicted will also be reviewed. I will say more: It has been decided to review their cases regardless of any legal changes, but people must realize that any level of democracy presupposes the observance of the rule of law and order. This truth is well known in any country. It seems to me that the ideologist should talk with people about this more often. As for unexpected actions by various groups or individuals, we must be prepared for this. It will certainly take time before we reach a truly high standard of democratic relationships and debate. It cannot be denied

that even at the all-union party conference not everyone demonstrated the ability to polemicize, the ability to listen to other people's opinions. And without that, it is hard to approach the truth, to approach an understanding of the crux of particular problems or phenomena.

I, for instance, am worried that people have emerged who regard any opinion that does not coincide with their own as an encroachment on freedom of creativity, democracy, and glasnost. In my view, that too is extremism. And it leads to the appearance of new zones that are above criticism. [passage omitted]

Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium Convenes

NC0409115688 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium convened on 1 September to examine the way the deputies of the Shamakhi Rayon local soviets of people's deputies who have been elected from the multi-mandate [cok mandatli] electoral okrugs are realizing their tasks. The participants heard a briefing concerning this by Gadirova, chairman of the Shamakhi Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee.

Aliyev [words indistinct] and Rizayev, chairman of the Yardymlinskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee, addressed the meeting regarding the implementation of the decisions adopted by the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in connection with the work carried out by the republic's soviets of people's deputies in the (?Ilich) and Yardymlinskiy Rayons, aimed at realizing the CPSU Central Committee decision concerning the further strengthening of socialist jurisprudence and laws and the consolidation and safeguarding of the rights and legal interests of the citizens under the conditions of democratization and openness.

The meeting participants also heard and debated the reports read by Kurbanov and Ismailova, chairmen of the Kel'badzharskiy and Saatlinskiy Rayons Soviets of People's Deputies Executive Committees, on the work carried out by the local soviets of people's deputies in their respective rayons and on the measures taken to impove their work.

Other matters were also taken up by the convocation and relevant decisions were adopted on the matters discussed. Suleyman Tatliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, addressed the convocation.

Azerbaijan Presidium Discusses Toxic Chemicals

NC0809083788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Text] The use of very toxic pesticides in agriculture in the Azerbaijan SSR has been reduced to some extent during the past few years and the use of such substances has come under stricter control. Nevertheless, the unsatisfactory organization of the work related to the application of toxic chemical substances has given rise to concern, as in the past. This is due to the fact that the use of such substances has serious results concerning the health of agricultural workers and the general ecological situation in the republic.

The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium has discussed this matter. The leading officials of the ministries and administrations, leading workers of the scientific administrations of the Academy of Sciences and the State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex, and the representatives of the rayon health and [words indistinct], rayon [word indistinct] departments, and agro-industrial unions participated in the meeting.

The discussion brought to light the fact that the leading officials of the State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex, the Ministry of Health, the Azerbaijan SSR Rural Chemical Union and its local organs, and the people's deputies soviets have (?been slow in) organizing the work related to the use of toxic substances. Although the application of bilogical and microbiological methods of protecting plants has been increased in the republic, large quantities are wasted because they are not used on a timely basis as a result of the absence of the necessary control.

Toxic chemical substances are kept either in the open air or in unsuitable buildings in the establishments. The substances are either blown away by the wind or washed away by rainfall. Consequently the environment becomes contaminated. The work carried out to transport and destroy spoiled pesticides which cannot be used is unsatisfactory.

(?Unethical methods are applied in the care given to) the crops in many of the establishments, particularly in those in the Zhdanovskiy, Agdamskiy, Zardobskiy, Murdeshi, Barda, Uzhar, Agdzhabedinskiy, Tauzskiy, and Kuba Rayons. The workers affiliated with the Ministry of Health and the State Committee for the Protection of Nature have not been using their rights and powers to secure a serious level of control over the storage, transportation, and use of toxic chemical substances.

The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium noted that the work of the said ministries and administrations, including their local organs, was unsatisfactory and asked their leading officials to take determined measures to remove the existing deficiencies. Particular attention was focused on the need to apply interrelated scientific methods for the protection of plants, wage an appropriate struggle against harmful elements, improve the agro-technical methods used in the cultivation of crops, and increase the pace of the construction of [word indistinct] stores, [word indistinct], and laboratories in the establishments for storing pesticides.

The supply of chemical substances, which [words indistinct], for personal use was described as inadmissible.

The Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Health and State Planning Committee were instructed to draw up proposals for the establishment in Baku of a branch of the all-union scientific research institute for the study of the [word indistinct] and toxicology of pesticides, polymers, and plastic [word indistinct].

The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission for the Protection of the Environment will supervise the realization of the recommended measures.

Gasan Seidov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium, addressed the meeting.

Yerevan Bureau Views Fruit, Vegetable Shortage
NC0609085088 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 6 Sep 88

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] The Yerevan City Communist Party Bureau studied the serious shortcomings in vegetable supplies for Yerevan residents, the fruit and vegetable distribution system for Yerevan residents and ways to improve it, and the implementation of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee's August [date indistinct] 1988 decision, and it accepted a (?comprehensive) decision.

The Bureau said that activities for improving the fruit and vegetable distribution system do not yet meet the needs pointed out in the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee's decision. It was stressed that the quality of the fruits and vegetables currently in the shops [words indistinct].

The newspaper has published on its first page an ARMENPRES report on the bureau's meeting.

Arutyunyan, Others Attend School Year Ceremonies
NC0609110188 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Yerevan, September 2, ARMENPRES—On 1 September, which is designated as the Day of Knowledge, Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee, visited the Stepan Zoryan and [name indistinct] High Schools, where he warmly congratulated the students, teachers, and parents on the new academic year and wished them success.

Discussions were held on school reforms, on the young generation's education, on ideological and political issues, on the improvement of work, on moral education, and on the significant role that the educational collectives play under the present circumstances.

On the same day, Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Fadey Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; and Yuriy Kochetkov, second secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee, visited a number of schools and institutes of higher education in the capital.

The new academic year started in the various institutes for higher education, technical schools, schools, and colleges in the presence of other officials of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee and government, chairmen of committees, and scientific and cultural employees.

Persecution of Uzbek Journalists Revealed
PM0509113588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 18 Aug 88 p 3

[Article by special correspondent S. Volkov and M. Sadvakasov, chief of the PRAVDA VOSTOKA Party Life Desk: "Leading Characters and Diligent Stooges"]

[Text] Uzbek SSR—"To A.B. Iskhakov. In reply to your application, I have to inform you that the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigation of the criminal case against A. Muzaffarov, former chief of the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Department, and other leaders of the Bukhara Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration, has not established any connection between you and those persons and the inquiry has no compromising information against you.

"[Signed] Senior Counselor of Justice T.Kh. Gdlyan, investigator for especially important cases under the USSR General Prosecutor"

Identical reports to the effect that A.B. Iskhakov is involved in nothing that might give rise to prosecution have also been received from the Bukhara Oblast KGB Administration, the oblast Prosecutor's Office, and several other authoritative institutions. A. Iskhakov's wife—Valentina Kapitonovna Em—has an equally voluminous file of similar documents.

Who are they, and why have they been forced to stock up on reports which appear so strange in our time? V. Em and A. Iskhakov are journalists who are well known in Bukhara Oblast, working on the newspaper SOVETSKAYA BUKHARA. Their work includes some sharply critical articles. This is a very risky job here....

As a matter of fact, they managed to get away with their criticism for some time. On one occasion, however, Iskhakov accidentally stumbled across fraudulent fee payments. Dishonest staffers of SOVETSKAYA BUKHARA (like deputy editor A. Savchenko and deputy responsible secretary V. Salamov, for example) were

regularly dipping into this "feed trough." Even some staffers from the party obkom Propaganda and Agitation Department had gained access to it.

According to his admission to us, A. Iskhakov was initially confused and had no idea what to do with this information. But later on he decided to call I. Dzhabbarov, first secretary of the party obkom. But Ismail Dzhabbarovich did not hear him out and referred him to...the Propaganda and Agitation Department. The secret thus came out into the open. A. Iskhakov had made some powerful enemies.

Having failed to get anywhere in Bukhara, Iskhakov and Em wrote to Moscow. Their statement was sent from there to the oblast Prosecutor's Office. The facts were confirmed, the culprits were punished along party lines, and they were transferred to work in other organizations. But not all were demoted. Salamov, for example, who had by that time become an aide to the obkom first secretary, "rose" to deputy chief of the obkom Propaganda and Agitation Department, to the surprise of those who knew about the fees swindle! In other words, the SOVETSKAYA BUKHARA editorial office was directly subordinate to him.

One can only guess why this happened. But here is something typical: It was when V. Salamov was appointed to that office that the persecution of the journalists came out into the open. The first thing he did was to summon the newspaper's editor, A. Kanushkin, and the primary party organization secretary, V. Shurayev, to the obkom and to demand the dismissal of Em and Iskhakov on any pretext. When this failed, there followed the release of a file compiled by Salamov and slander by his wife, a member of the SOVETSKAYA BUKHARA staff.

The situation was becoming increasingly threatening. V. Em and A. Iskhakov sensed the clouds looming above them and waited for the thunder to roar at any moment. Unknown persons called them at night, threatening them with violence and intimidating them. On one occasion some bandit caught their daughter in the doorway and, putting a knife to her throat, ordered: "You tell your lot to keep out of other people's business, otherwise you'll get it!"

The spouses turned to the party obkom first secretary for help and protection. The letter in question was signed by them and 11 other staff members (say one-half) of the editorial office. I. Dzhabbarov did not reply to the journalists. They then decided to write a complaint to R. Abdullayeva, secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee. How were they to know that she would soon afterwards be arrested for various abuses? Of course, Abdullayeva sent no reply to the complaint. Nor could such a reply have been forthcoming, because by that time the Bukhara party obkom had received a Central Committee memorandum demanding Iskhakov's dismissal, and it was countersigned by Abdullayeva. The obkom bureau obediently passed the relevant resolution, totally disregarding the fact that Iskhakov is not a party member. As a matter of fact, this resolution has not been annulled to this day.

The accusations made against Iskhakov in different denunciations would be sufficient for several criminal cases. It thus became necessary to start collecting the reports we mentioned earlier. But despite everything the spouses continued to publish critical articles. In April 1986, for example, the newspaper carried a court report entitled "Truth and Myth About Rakhimov."

Who is he, this Salim Rakhimov? The last office he held was first secretary of Bukhara Oblast's Gizhduvanskiy Raykom. An oriental despot by nature. An inveterate bribe-taker by calling and belief. Rakhimov grabbed from everyone and for everything. He also paid out. To A. Karimov, former first secretary of Bukhara party obkom, for example, from whom he—to all intents and purposes—purchased his last office.

"Rakhimov is a typical phenomenon of the stagnation years, the next logical link in the criminal chain of Rashidov, Karimov, Ergashev, and others," we were told by N. Ivanov, investigator for especially important cases under the USSR General Prosecutor and deputy leader of the Uzbekistan Investigation Group. "Identical methods of extortion, exactly the same corruption. Until the very last moment Rakhimov relied on the power of money; he offered Investigator A. Moroz a bribe of R100,000 just to make sure that his case was sent for trial by a local court. Rakhimov was confident that he would evade punishment. And his hopes for a happy end were not altogether groundless. The situation in Bukhara gave him indications that it might be possible to avoid retribution and reverse the wheels of restructuring. The USSR Prosecutor's Office knows of numerous instances when people who actually had honestly admitted their guilt, repented, and helped to expose inveterate criminals and return to the people the valuables taken from them, had subsequently been subjected to persecution, expelled from the party, and dismissed from work at the initiative of the Bukhara party obkom leadership. The overwhelming majority of people in Bukhara—and many of them do have stories to tell and evidence to give to the investigation—perceive such base methods as attempts to shut people up and make them reluctant to expose their corrupt leaders who had pressured them into paying bribes."

It was no accident that some witnesses retracted their original testimonies at Rakhimov's trial and lied wholesale. Criminal proceedings for perjury have now been instituted against them.

Many people in Gizhduvanskiy Rayon admit that they cannot believe that they are finally free from the bloodsucker Rakhimov. A myth is circulating among the

people that, even though sentenced to the supreme measure of punishment, he will manage to extricate himself, make a comeback, and again be in favor. This belief of the people is reinforced by Rakhimov's character references which were read out in court. Hearing them you would really think that this criminal is being cited for a state prize. The obkom's character reference is no exception in this regard.

Why have we dwelt in such detail on Rakhimov's case? While he was first secretary of Gizhduvanskiy party raykom, S. Bakhronova was secretary for ideology matters. Now she is secretary of the party obkom. Journalists who expose negative phenomena in their articles are evidently not in her good books. Her attitude toward them is indicated by the following fact: Bakhronova cited...information received from SOVETSKAYA BUKHARA staff members who are not too scrupulous in their actions, and she admitted this to us without batting an eyelid.

We published an article about the unhealthy situation prevailing in Bukhara in the republic newspaper PRAVDA VOSTOKA. Frankly speaking, we expected a positive response from the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee. It was an opportunity to discuss at the top level the question of mutual relations between newspaper editorial offices and party committees in the conditions of restructuring and glasnost. There has been a pressing need to do this for a long time. In another article, datelined Namangan, we wrote about the undeclared war between the oblast newspaper's editor and all the party gorkom secretaries who totally reject criticism. The situation is similarly alarming in Navoi. An Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee commission traveled there at the end of July to settle misunderstandings between the obkom and the oblast newspaper's editorial office.

Other similar instances could be mentioned, but let us refer to our own experiences. While our article "Protracted Conflict"—about the Bukhara events—was still in manuscript form, Iskandarov, an instructor from the Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, tried to fraudulently obtain a copy of it. Following the article's publication, PRAVDA VOSTOKA editor R. Safarov was invited to the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee. To his amazement he saw Bakhronova there, in a highly aggressive mood. In her presence A. Saidov, deputy chief of the Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, and A. Savchenko, deputy chief of the Organizational Party Work Department, tried to take the editor in hand.

Please note the last name above. It was mentioned at the start of this article among the names of embezzlers of fees in SOVETSKAYA BUKHARA. Yes, that newspaper's former deputy editor A. Savchenko has done quite well for himself and is, of course, unwilling to have his smooth-running career disrupted by some provincial hacks. We did not expect an objective view of the "Protracted Conflict" from A. Saidov. He traveled to Bukhara on two occasions but showed no desire to douse the conflict. Furthermore, it was his "tip off" that prompted the Central Committee memorandum, countersigned by Abdullayeva, which resulted in Iskhakov's dismissal. (He was later reinstated at work at the request of the Prosecutor's Office.)

It is self-evident that an examination of the article at the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee would not have been in Savchenko's and Saidov's interests. True enough, the article "Protracted Conflict" was discussed by the Bukhara party obkom bureau. The PRAVDA VOSTOKA editorial office received an official reply signed by I. Dzhabbarov. He accepted the criticism as justified. The bureau reprimanded Bakhronova along party lines, and it agreed to hear a report by the newspaper's editor.... As for Salamov, that diligent stooge, he was not even punished. They failed to produce a principled assessment of the persecutions of newsmen.

...We were planning to end at this point, but we have to go on. We have just received a telephone call from V. Em who, sounding alarmed, described yet another attack against her. Somebody posted leaflets all over the city accusing Valentina Kapitonovna of being the author of the article "The Secret of Bukhara's Ark." This article described the way this unique museum's treasures were and still are being pilfered. The leaflet claims that Em had twisted everything and had deliberately distorted the facts in order to discredit the museum's staffers.

The leaflet was...properly printed. Its text is familiar: It was published earlier in Russian by the oblast newspaper which is published in...Uzbek. Instructions for its publication were issued at the time by I. Dzhabbarov, first secretary of the party obkom.

Thus the problem goes far beyond mutual relations between newsmen and apparatchiks. Its roots go much deeper. Speaking at a news conference for journalists, V. Anishchev, second secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, expressed serious concern regarding the acute shortage of leadership cadres. Four former secretaries of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee have been arrested, many obkom first secretaries have been sentenced or dismissed from office, raykom first secretaries are being replaced the second time round.... There is no cadre reserve because there was no need for it in Rashidov's time—every newcomer was a threat to the mafia.

Vacancies were and are filled, as a rule, by the former "seconds." It is quite likely that many of them would have some skeletons in their cupboards which they would not like to make public knowledge. Especially in Bukhara, where the exposure of organized crime began in 1983. Hence the intolerance toward glasnost and instances of the persecution of journalists.

Uzbek Central Committee Plenum Decisions Cited

PM0809095988 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 Aug 88 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The 11th Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held 24 August 1988. A report, entitled "On the Urgent Tasks of the Republic's Party, Soviet, and Economic Organs in Improving Food Supplies to the Population in the Light of the Decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference," was delivered by R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee.

Speaking in the debate on the report were: Comrades M.M. Aripdzhanov, first secretary of Andizhan party obkom; M. Ruzmatov, chairman of the Akhunbabayev Kolkhoz in Tashkent Oblast's Srednechirchikskiy Rayon; S. Mamarasulov, first secretary of Surkhan-Darya party obkom; A. Iskandarov, chairman of the Narimanov Kolkhoz in Khorezm Oblast's Bagatskiy Rayon; P.M. Abdurakhmanov, chairman of Tashkent Oblispolkom; D.N. Shamshetov, secretary of Karakalpak party obkom; V.P. Skvortsova, first secretary of Dzhizak Oblast's Mirzachulskiy party raykom; M. Esanov, team leader at the "Sotsializm" Kolkhoz in Fergana Oblast's Leningradskiy Rayon; and I.Kh. Dzhurabekov, first deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Uzbek SSR Gosagroprom.

The plenum was addressed by V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

A resolution was adopted on the question under debate.

The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee plenum examined organizational questions. V.A. Antonov is released from his duties as secretary and member of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in connection with his confirmation as first deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Gosagroprom and minister of the Uzbek SSR. V.N. Lobko, who has been confirmed as inspector of the CPSU Central Committee, has been released from his duties as secretary and member of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

T.A. Alimov has been released from his duties as member of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in connection with his confirmation as chairman of the Uzbek SSR State Committee for Nature Protection. V.A. Khaydurov is released from his duties as candidate member of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in line with his request to be released from his duties as chairman of the Uzbek SSR People's Control Committee for health reasons.

D.D. Berkov, who previously was second secretary of Karakalpak Uzbek Communist Party Obkom, has been elected secretary and member of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau by secret ballot; and A.S. Yefimov, first secretary of Navoi Uzbek Communist Party Obkom, has been elected candidate member of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau by secret ballot.

Taking part in the plenum's work were G.S. Ogryzkin, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department; V.N. Krikhunov, inspector of the CPSU Central Committee; V.K. Onisovets, assistant to the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; B.M. Istomin and G.M. Gibov, sector chiefs at the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department; N.F. Vasilyev, USSR minister of land reclamation and water resources; V.I. Chernoivanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom; and N.G. Nedelkin, instructor at the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department.

The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee has ended its work.

Dolgikh, Gusev Attend Presidium Ceremony

LD0209223288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A ceremony took place in Moscow today devoted to Oil and Gas Industry Worker's Day. This holiday will be marked on Sunday, 4 September. Comrade Dolgikh; Comrade Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; leaders of ministries and departments; and front-ranking persons in industry attended the meeting at the Presidium.

It was stated at the meeting that this year 6.5 million tonnes of oil and 15 billion cubic meters of gas above state orders will be recovered. The intensification of the processes of extracting, transporting, and refining raw materials is under way. Administrative staffs are being reduced in the industry, and particular attention is being devoted to matters of social development.

Dolgikh Visits Power Station Construction Site

PM0809124788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Visiting the Construction Workers of the Zagorsk Pumped-Storage Power Station"]

[Text] On 7 September V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, familiarized himself with the course of construction of the Zagorsk pumped-storage power station, which has a rated capacity of 1,200,000 kw. The first two hydraulic turbogenerator units with a total capacity of 400,000 kw are due to be commissioned there this year.

The important role of pumped-storage power stations in meeting peak electrical loads in the power systems and ensuring the reliable and economical around-the-clock functioning of thermal and nuclear power stations at base load was noted. This is particularly important for the European part of the country, where there is an acute shortage of switchable electrical capacities. The construction of power stations of this kind meets more fully the increased environmental requirements.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary acquainted himself with the work that is being done in the construction workers' collective to implement the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum. He inquired about the implementation of measures to introduce the economic reform; to transfer the construction site to full economic accountability and self-financing on 1 January 1989; to extend the collective and team contracts; and to increase labor productivity.

In conversations with workers, specialists, and the leadership of the construction site, V.I. Dolgikh asked about labor organization and remuneration, construction workers' everyday life and leisure, and the development of the social sphere. Attention was drawn to the need to eliminate the backlog which has occurred in the construction of housing and cultural and consumer facilities and to step up the work of establishing a stable labor collective and improving cadres' skills. Emphasis was placed on the importance of accelerating the power station's construction, improving the quality of planning, construction, and assembly work, making more efficient use of labor, material, and technical resources, and ensuring the prompt assimilation of power capacities that are being commissioned.

V.I. Dolgikh was accompanied by A.I. Mayorets, USSR minister of power electrification, and executives of the CPSU Central Committee and the Moscow party obkom.

Bogomolov Discusses Economic Reform

LD0409221888 Moscow World Service in English 0210 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Report on interview with Dr Oleg Bogomolov, Academy of Sciences member and director of the Institute of Studies of the World Socialist System, by unidentified correspondent; date not given—Bogomolov remarks recorded in Russian with superimposed English translation]

[Text] [Correspondent] We now bring you the transcript of an interview with Dr Oleg Bogomolov, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of its Institute of Studies of the World Socialist System. In his speech at the 19th party conference, Mikhail Gorbachev noted that the world socialist system is going through a period of complex changes. We asked Dr Bogomolov what were the specifics of this period and how were the Soviet Union's relations with the other socialist countries developing, especially in the sphere of economics.

[Bogomolov] Relations between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are now going through a period of radical change. As was stressed at the party conference, the deformities and elements alian to the nature of these relations, which the West calls the Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty, are now being eliminated. The command method which prevailed in relations between the socialist countries has been ended.

[Correspondent] Processes designed to renovate socialism are now gaining ground in many of the socialist countries, can you comment on that?

[Bogomolov] The summit meeting of the countries belonging to the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance held in November of 1986 did much to affirm this trend. At the meeting, the Soviet side emphasized the need to observe the basic principles of equality, mutual benefit, and noninterference in the internal affairs of the other countries. It was also said that it was impermissible to impose one's experiences on the others. We now see that the socialist countries are taking an independent stand in the appraisal and adopting their own approach to a number of problems. Uniformity was certainly not the strong side of the council's activities. The discussions regarding reform of the mechanism of cooperation revealed a great variety of opinions. In the past if differences did crop up attempts were made to tone them down or hide them away. Today, however, the battle of opinions produces more correct solutions.

[Correspondent] In this sense the 44th meeting of the council session recently held proved very constructive. The meeting worked out a strategy of cooperation for the socialist countries for the period from 1991 till the year 2005. What new element did it put forward to promote broader economic relations between the socialist countries?

[Bogomolov] I would underline the concept of the international socialist division of labor. The system of cooperation and division of labor between the socialist countries was in the past based on the exchange of Soviet raw materials and fuels for manufactured products from the other socialist states; this needs to be changed to a large extent. The rate of exchange of goods went down sharply under this system. The accent has now been shifted to specialization and cooperation in some branches of production. This'll be the main idea in the new concept of international socialist division of labor.

[Correspondent] But the countries in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance also realize that the very economic mechanism of cooperation needs to be radically changed. How is that envisaged?

[Bogomlov] Until now basic decisions regarding the division of labor were adopted at the level of the states and their planning bodies. Now, however, individual enterprises are contacting oen another directly as part of the process of cooperation. They are organizing direct business ties. New forms of specialization and cooperation are arising. For example, there is joint scientific and technical work, followed by joint production of new up-to-date technology. That, in turn, gives rise to the need for new means of regulating market relations between these countries. The countries in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance need to set up a united market; it will make possible the free flow of commodities, capital, and labor power between these countries without any big barriers.

[Correspondent] But this market will only be possible when wholesale trade is established inside these countries themselves. Unfortunately there is no such thing as yet, above all in the Soviet Union.

[Bogomolov] But something can already be done to improve the mechanism of mutual ties. It is possible to create the preconditions for the introduction of convertible currency in the relations between the member-states of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. It is possible to alter the principles and methods of setting prices. Decisions are pending on all these questions. They will pave the way for greater integration between the council members. In the final analysis, it will facilitate more successful reforms of the socialist economy, reforms which the socialist states have already undertaken or are about to do so.

First International Miners Conference Held

LD0209233688 Moscow TASS in English 2310 GMT 31 Sep 88

[Text] Kiev August 31 TASS—The international "Miners for Peace and Disarmament" conference opened in Voroshilovgrad, south eastern Ukraine, today. It is held on the decision of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Miners' Trade Unions International.

"It is for the first time that such a representative conference is held in the USSR (it is attended by envoys of 20 countries)", a TASS correspondent has been told by Mikhail Srenbiy, chairman of the Central Council of the Trade Union of Soviet Miners. "The conference is held in time for the day of trade union actions for peace, marked on September 1. The venue for the conference is the Voproshilovgrad region, the miners of which are linked with miners from other countries by strong internationalist ties".

The programme includes meetings and an international peace march in Krasnodon, the city where party and Young Communist League members, "Molodaya Gardiya", fought underground against fascist invaders in the years of the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945), friendship meetings, visits to coal enterprises, acquaintance with miners' working, living and recreation conditions.

The participants in the conference today held a meeting at the Voroshilovgradskaya mine, viewed its administrative-service building, familiarised themselves with the automatised system of protecting miners from unpredicted danger in the coal face, visited families of Soviet miners, kindergartens and schools. The guests learnt how questions of expanding democratic principles in production are being resolved in practice.

Talking to a TASS correspondent, general secretary of the miners union of Australia's state of Queensland, Peter Nilson, has said: "It is amazing that miners can relieve a director of his duties and he has no right to dismiss a worker without the work collective's consent. I think that this may serve as an example of social protection of the working people".

Peter Nilson favoured broader cooperation with Soviet miners in the struggle for peace.

Historian Examines Prewar Baltic Events

PM0609144188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor Robertas Zhyugzhda under the rubric "Correspondence on Historical Topics": "In August 1939"—first two paragraphs are a reader's letter; third paragraph is a SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] Dear Editorial Office! I read your newspaper's article "Then Came the War...." I believe that the article was certainly useful and explained a lot. There is, however, one question which remains perturbing—the conclusion of the nonaggression pact with fascist Germany. How could it have happened that, aware of the Nazi plans, our government nevertheless agreed to this treaty? Indeed, is it not time for historians to cast light on this page, which is the topic of so much talk today?

N. Maksimov, Moscow

In response to the letter writer's request, the editorial office approached Doctor of Historical Sciences Robertas Iozovich Zhyugzhda, professor at the V. Kapsukas Vilnius State University. Lithuanian by nationality, he witnessed the events surrounding the pact's conclusion and took part in the restoration of Soviet power in Lithuania in 1940. During the Great Patriotic War, R. Zhyugzhda fought the enemy in the ranks of the Red Army's 16th Lithuanian Rifle Division. At the end of the war he was recalled from the front and sent to study at the Higher Diplomatic School. He then worked in the

USSR Foreign Ministry apparatus. Robertas Iozovich then went back to the events of 1939 in his capacity as a scholar, and they became the topic of years of research by him.

Without "Secret Protocols" [subhead]

The reader's letter which served as a pretext for today's conversation is quite typical in the sense that, on the one hand, it offers tangible confirmation of the recently increased interest in our historical past, while on the other it shows how impatient and categorical some readers can be in their judgments. They exert a kind of moral pressure on historians, striving for a swifter explanation of so-called "blank spots" in the history of the country and the people, including some events on the eve and at the start of World War II, and are unwilling to realize that a correct and comprehensive explanation of facts and events requires primarily a profound study and analysis of archives and other documents.

This is all the more important when the issue concerns questions of the USSR's foreign policy. It has already been admitted today that for a long time they used to be explained in the old fashion, in bright hues, even though it was clear that Stalinism must have had its negative effect in this sphere. As M.S. Gorbachev noted in the report to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, "it is impossible not to admit that the administrative edict methods did not bypass the foreign policy sphere. There were occasions when even the most important decisions were made by a narrow circle of people, without collective and comprehensive examination and analysis, and at times even without proper consultations with friends. This resulted in inappropriate responses to international events and other states' policy, and at times even in erroneous decisions."

One of the important questions of the recent past giving rise to broad discussions, and not just in our own country, is the conclusion of the Soviet-German nonaggression pact in August 1939 and the subsequent course of the development of relations between these two countries.

The texts of the Molotov-Ribbentrop "secret protocols" were recently published in our republic, Lithuania, and even prior to that in Estonia. But let me emphasize at once: These were reprints from Western sources. The author of these lines personally conducted a search for these documents not only in our own country but also in British and GDR archives. But there was no success in discovering the originals. As a matter of fact, it was reported in our press that the veracity of these materials is now being studied.

In this context one can only express regret that the long-awaited decision to provide open access to archive documents on USSR foreign policy is being delayed and that historians still have not seen many documents dating back to those years and kept in the country's central archives, including documents concerning the USSR's foreign policy actions on the eve and at the start of World War II. This certainly prevents a more exhaustive and objective explanation and assessment of facts and events at that time.

Nevertheless, even using the archive documents which are at our disposal, it is possible to clarify and amplify certain points provided that these documents are interpreted and critically analyzed. Let us attempt, on the basis of these known materials, to examine Soviet-German relations in 1939-1940 and in particular Lithuania's role and position in these relations.

Before moving directly to events in 1939, it must be noted that in the thirties the Soviet Union, as it had done earlier, was tirelessly struggling to preserve peace, striving to guarantee the safety of its state borders. As early as 1933 the USSR put forward the idea of creating a collective security system in Europe. Germany occupied Austria in March 1938. The Soviet Government's response was instantaneous and unambiguous, and was stated in the 14 March 1938 letter from the USSR People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee.

At a news conference held 3 days later, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs M.M. Litvinov drew attention to the growing threat of a new world war, emphasizing that Czechoslovakia was already under threat and that "subsequently, in view of the contagious nature of aggression, there is an impending danger of its growing into new international conflicts—something which can already be seen in the alarming situation which has developed along the Polish-Lithuanian border." The USSR suggested collective actions to halt the development of aggression and avert the danger of a new world war.

But the Western governments, rejecting the Soviet proposal, opted for a policy of deals with fascist Germany. They were prepared to do everything, even to sacrifice their allies, just for the sake of directing Hitler's aggression eastward. The culmination point of this policy was the 29-30 September 1938 Munich deal, whereby the Western powers sanctioned the annexation of Czechoslovakia's most important strategic regions by Germany.

Tension caused by fascist aggression rose sharply. The threat of war created much anxiety throughout Europe. Under pressure from public opinion, the governments of N. Chamberlain and E. Daladier were forced to start talks with the USSR Government on joint actions against aggression. The talks were based on the Soviet proposal of 17 April 1939 to conclude a tripartite treaty of mutual assistance and a military convention, pledging at the same time to give comprehensive assistance, including military assistance, to states sharing a common border with the USSR in the event of aggression against them.

Such a treaty would have thus provided guarantees for the security of the Baltic countries against possible aggression by fascist Germany. This would have conformed with the interests of the Soviet Union and the Baltic countries alike. Britain's Foreign Office concluded that the Soviet proposals for joint guarantees to the Baltic countries were perfectly logical and justified, since without them "an attack could be launched against the Soviet Union through these countries."

During the talks between military missions from the USSR, Britain, and France held in Moscow 12-21 August 1939, the Soviet Union suggested to Britain and France inter alia that the Baltic countries' consent be sought to the occupation of their islands and ports (including Liepaja) by an Anglo-French fleet "for the purpose of protecting these countries' neutrality and independence against attack by Germany." This meant that, bearing in mind the perfectly realistic threat of Hitler's aggression, it would have agreed even to a joint British and French fleet, with appropriate troop contingents, being based in the immediate vicinity of the USSR's state borders. But the British and French Governments had no intention of making any specific pledges at all, and refused altogether to discuss the question of the Baltic states' defense. It became obvious that they had no intention of hindering Hitler's Germany in its aggression. Furthermore (and it is important to note this), Japan's militarists had already invaded Mongolia along the Halhaiin Gol, posing a threat to the eastern borders of the Land of the Soviets.

Hitler calculated that Germany would have achieved military superiority over its opponents by the early forties. Consequently, trying to gain time to prepare the attack against the USSR, he wanted to secure its neutrality. This is why, from mid-1939 onward, Germany repeatedly offered to start talks with the Soviet state on improving political relations.

On instructions from Ribbentrop, German Ambassador in Moscow F. Schulenburg notified the Soviet Government 14 August that Germany had no aggressive intentions toward the USSR and that there were no outstanding questions between the two countries anywhere along the long line between the Baltic and the Black Sea that could not be settled peacefully, whether they related to the Baltic Sea, the Baltic countries, Klaipeda, southeast Europe, or whatever. Ribbentrop instructed him 16 August to urgently notify V. Molotov that Germany was prepared to conclude a nonaggression treaty with the USSR guaranteeing the sovereignty of the Baltic countries, and promised to influence Japan for the purpose of improving its relations with the USSR.

In a reply handed to Schulenburg 16 August, the Soviet Government expressed satisfaction with Germany's readiness to improve political relations with the USSR. But it proposed that a start be made with pressing economic questions and that the conclusion of a nonaggression treaty could be considered only afterward, in the longer term.

By mid-August the Wehrmacht was in full readiness to attack Poland. But Hitler feared a war on two fronts: He decided to rush through the talks with the USSR and, as the newspapers reported, "following prolonged and successfully concluded talks, a Trade and Credit Agreement between the USSR and Germany was signed in Berlin" as early as 19 August.

It was due to expire in August 1941....

As we can see, even here Hitler was clearly adhering to his plan.

A Nonaggression Pact With the Aggressor [subhead]

But let us turn back to August 1939. On 18 August Ribbentrop conveyed to the Soviet Government via Schulenburg a draft of the future treaty. He announced that he was prepared to sign a special protocol settling the interests of both sides in various foreign policy questions like, for example, "settling spheres of interests in the Baltic Sea basin, questions concerning the Baltic states, and so on." On 20 August Hitler sent Stalin a letter asking that Ribbentrop be received in Moscow to conclude the nonaggression treaty.

Only after realizing that it would be impossible to guarantee the Soviet state's security and to preserve peace in cooperation with Britain and France, and desiring to thwart the anti-Soviet plans of reactionary circles in those countries, did the Soviet Government accept Germany's proposal in order to avert the impending threat of war. In reply to Hitler's letter, I. Stalin announced his agreement 21 August.

Ribbentrop arrived in Moscow 23 August. The Hitlerites' aims were clear from the very beginning of preparations for the talks. A log kept by the senior pilot of the aircraft in which Ribbentrop flew to Moscow contains the following entry:

"After we switched off our engines to make our final approach, I heard Ribbentrop telling the advisers accompanying him: 'The game we have to play promises to be difficult. It is necessary to lull the Soviet leaders' mistrust. Tomorrow, just like today, they will still be our enemies. The time will come when the swastika will be flying here instead of the hammer and sickle.'"

F. Gaus [name as published], head of the German Foreign Ministry's Legal Department, who took part in the talks, unwittingly testified that the Hitlerites' objectives were no secret to the USSR, either: When it came to the meeting with V. Molotov, "Ribbentrop wanted to begin with a long and rambling speech, and started talking about 'the spirit of brotherhood linking the

Russian and German peoples....' Molotov interrupted him: 'There can be no brotherhood between us: If you want to talk, let us talk about figures.'"

In his letter to Hitler, Ribbentrop reported that Stalin, who appeared at that moment, declared in reply to his question: "There can be no neutrality on our part until you yourselves stop drawing up aggressive plans against the USSR." He went on to amplify: "We do not forget that your ultimate goal is to attack us."

The Soviet-German Treaty on Nonaggression (otherwise known as the nonaggression pact) was signed 23 August 1939. Both sides pledged to refrain from violence and aggression and not to join any groupings aimed against the other side. It was planned to institute contacts for consultations and also to inform each other on questions affecting common interests. It was planned that any disputes and conflicts which might arise would be solved only by peaceful means.

The pact was concluded for a term of 10 years and was to come into force immediately upon its signing.

Fascist Germany intended to observe the treaty it had concluded only until such time as the major states in West Europe were conquered, and mainly until such time as preparations for the attack against the USSR were completed. Only 1 week later, at a conference held in the Reichskanzlei 28 August, Hitler demanded that all members of the fascist party be informed that the nonaggression treaty with the Soviet Union was only a temporary measure and made absolutely no difference to Germany's hostile attitude to the USSR.

In this way, the nonaggression treaty did not rid the Soviet state of the threat of fascist aggression, but it provided an opportunity to put it off and to gain time for the sake of strengthening the country's defense capability, and it obstructed the creation of a united anti-Soviet front.

On learning of the pact's conclusion, the British and French military missions broke off the talks with the Soviet military mission and left Moscow.

FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH K.YE. VOROSHILOV, HEAD OF THE SOVIET MILITARY MISSION, 27 AUGUST 1939. [capitalization as published]

"...Question: REUTERS has reported on the radio: 'Voroshilov told the leaders of the British and French military missions today that, in view of the conclusion of the treaty on nonaggression between the USSR and Germany, the Soviet Government considers all further talks with Britain and France pointless.'

"Does this statement by REUTERS conform with reality?

"Answer: No, it does not conform with reality. Military talks with Britain and France were not broken off because the USSR concluded the nonaggression pact with Germany. On the contrary, the USSR concluded the nonaggression pact with Germany because of, among other reasons, the fact that the military talks with France and Britain were deadlocked owing to irreconcilable differences."

Of course, at the time of the pact's conclusion there was also discussion of other questions of relations between the USSR and Germany, including the question of attitudes toward the Baltic countries. According to W. Churchill, the German Government declared that Germany's interest in Estonia and Latvia was not political but only economic, in other words it agreed to renounce its claims to those countries. As regards Lithuania, V. Molotov told Foreign Minister Yu. Urbshis during the 7 October 1939 Soviet-Lithuanian talks that agreement had been reached on the inclusion of Lithuania within Germany's sphere of interest. Yu. Urbshis wrote the following to Lithuanian Ambassador in Moscow L. Natkyavichyus in a memorandum covering this session: "Lithuania has been left in the German zone of influence. The border of this zone runs along Lithuania's northern border." It can thus be judged that the USSR and Germany agreed on the separation of spheres of state interests in the Baltic region.

But even after the conclusion of the Soviet-German treaty on nonaggression, the threat of Hitler's aggression against Lithuania remained great. Having occupied the Klaipeda region 22 March 1939, in the summer of that year the Hitlerites started seriously considering sending German troops into the Baltic countries.

At this point I will not dwell on this aspect of the issue: The Hitlerites' plans to occupy and "Germanize" the eastern territories have been described in detail by historians. They were also discussed in the article "Then Came the War...," with which this conversation began.

What Was the Secret of German "Accommodation" [subhead]

The Wehrmacht invaded Poland's territory 1 September 1939.

This sharply changed the situation in East Europe and created a direct threat to the Soviet Union and also the Baltic countries. When the Polish Government was no longer in a position to effectively control the situation in its country, when the majority of that government's members had already fled to Romania and the Polish Army, in W. Churchill's words, had ceased to exist as an organized force, the Soviet Government ordered units of the Red Army to enter the western Ukraine and western Belorussia, which had earlier been seized by Polish militarists from the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Belorussia, as well as the Vilnius region. They crossed the border 17 September. If these events were to be examined

formally, it would probably be easy to describe them in no uncertain terms—there were all the signs of occupation of territory by armed force. But if we take the long view and appraise them from the viewpoint of guaranteeing the national independence and statehood of the peoples of the Baltic countries, the western Ukraine, and western Belorussia, and preventing their occupation by the Hitlerites, it is clear that these steps were necessary in the conditions at the time.

The Red Army's march surprised and worried Germany: It cut the Reich off from Romania's oil and denied it the opportunity to consolidate its positions in Galicia.

Nonetheless, Germany did not give up its attempts to implement its plan. It was still hatching plans to conquer Lithuania by imposing a "defense treaty" on it. The essence of this treaty was clearly expressed in the draft's very first article: "Lithuania will accede to protection by the German Reich...." In other words, it would have turned into a German protectorate. But the Lithuanian Government could not bring itself to abandon its policy of neutrality. Talks never took place.

Soon after, on 25 September, Hitler signed Secret Directive No 4 which, apart from all else, said: "Sufficient forces for a swift conquest of Lithuania, even in the event of armed resistance, should be maintained in a state of combat readiness in East Prussia." Assessing this directive by Hitler, General S. Rashtikis, commander of the Lithuanian Army at the time, admitted later: "The Germans were simply preparing to occupy Lithuania: Since it refused to be a satellite, it was to be a conquered country."

A German-Soviet communique was published 22 September 1939: "The German Government and the USSR Government have established a demarcation line between the German and Soviet Armies...."

This was followed by talks in Moscow 27-28 September 1939, which ended with the signing of the German-Soviet "Treaty on Friendship and Borders between the USSR and Germany." It was signed by V. Molotov and J. Ribbentrop. A correct assessment is perhaps offered by those historians who perceive certain miscalculations, insofar as public opinion was not prepared for such an event, and observe that the actual signing led, in one way or another, to the de facto repudiation of past antifascist postulates.

The Soviet Union's western border roughly coincided with the so-called Curzon Line. This line was suggested by the Western powers in 1919 as Poland's ethnic eastern border, but it was later breached by the Polish Government.

Germany was "accommodating" in the course of the new talks, agreeing to give up Lithuania even though it made claims to a good one-third of Lithuanian territory. As a result of the USSR Government's firm stance it abandoned these claims too, but it did maintain its claim to part of southwest Lithuania. But the secret of Germany's "accommodation" lay only in its unpreparedness for a clash with the USSR.

Lithuanian Ambassador in Moscow L. Natkyavichyus wrote in a memorandum that V. Molotov, describing the 3 October talks to Lithuanian Foreign Minister Yu. Urbshis, declared that Germany "agreed that Lithuania, as well as Latvia and Estonia, should be part of the USSR's zone of influence." Stalin pointed out that the Germans "agreed with great reluctance to be content" with part of Lithuania's southwest territory and showed on the map part of the region beyond the Neman River "which should be ceded to the Germans."

Examining these facts from different aspects, we have grounds for stating that such an agreement, without the Lithuanian Government's consent, was essentially a gross violation of international principles and norms. For truth's sake, however, assessments of the past must proceed from the specific historical conditions which prompted these actions and they, as was already said earlier, were developing in a quite definite fashion. Moreover, there is evidence that there was an awareness of the abnormality of the situation. As Yu. Urbshis wrote, even I. Stalin himself—when Urbshis told him of his dissatisfaction with this decision on 8 October—said: "Perhaps we have made a mistake here."

One way or another, however, as W. Churchill put it in his 1 October speech on London radio, Ribbentrop admitted during these talks that "the Nazis' designs on the Baltic states and the Ukraine will have to be shelved." Germany, even if only temporarily, was forced to abandon the attack on Lithuania. But the danger of aggression was far from over.

There was also a major threat hanging over the Soviet Union, especially since Hitler's troops were by that time deployed along its own borders. It was also clear that the Baltic countries would have been unable to resist fascist Germany in the event of being attacked by it. At that time, desiring to consolidate the security of its western borders, the USSR concluded mutual assistance treaties with Estonia on 28 September 1939 and with Latvia on 5 October.

Lithuanian Foreign Minister Yu. Urbshis arrived in Moscow 3 October to discuss questions concerning both countries.

A treaty on the cession of Vilnius and the Vilnius region to the Lithuanian Republic and on mutual assistance was signed 10 October, while agreement was reached to maintain strictly limited contingents of USSR ground and naval forces in previously determined places in Lithuania in order to guarantee the security of Lithuania's borders against the possibility of surprise attack. General S. Rashtikis, who took part in these talks as a member of the Lithuanian delegation, later observed

that it was wrong to think that Lithuania had been given Vilnius "as compensation for its consent to allow Russian military bases in Lithuania. This opinion is mistaken and incorrect," Gen S. Rashtikis wrote. "Let me emphasize again that there was no talk about Vilnius as compensation; there were no negotiations."

The mutual assistance treaty between Lithuania and the USSR, just like the mutual assistance treaties signed by Latvia and Estonia with the USSR, was highly important in consolidating peace and security in East Europe and blocking the way to Hitler's aggression in the East. This was even admitted by Britain's Secretary of State for War L. Hore-Belisha, who can in no way be suspected of being sympathetic toward the Soviet Union. He noted in a radio speech on 21 October that Germany had always demanded freedom of action in the East and this meant, among other things, freedom to control the Baltic countries. "Now," L. Hore-Belisha emphasized, "Russia has finished off all these German plans and intentions."

The conclusion of the mutual assistance treaties between the USSR and the Baltic states ran contrary to German, as well as to British and French, plans. The British and French imperialists were preparing a "crusade" against the USSR which, according to their plans, was also to have been joined by the Baltic and Scandinavian countries. This is why the Western powers' reactionary circles used all means to encourage the bourgeoisie in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia to agree to the conclusion of a military alliance and not to carry out the commitments envisaged by the treaties. This made it easier for reactionary circles of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian bourgeoisie to come to a decision, and soon after that they started sabotaging the mutual assistance treaties with the USSR. There were increasingly frequent meetings between leading representatives of the three Baltic countries' armies. Following a rather lengthy break, the 10th conference of foreign ministers from the Baltic Entente countries was held 7-8 December 1939. Latvian Ambassador in London K. Zarine informed the British Government that agreement had been reached there on military cooperation among the three Baltic states. Since they all had entered into mutual assistance treaties with the Soviet Union, it was decided to proceed without a special document setting up the military alliance, because this would be clear proof of violation of the treaties with the USSR. It was therefore decided that "military cooperation with Lithuania (...) would be pursued without a special treaty."

Representatives of the three Baltic countries' army staffs conferred in Riga 29 December 1939, soon after this conference. At the end of 1939 Gen S. Rashtikis, commander of the Lithuanian Army, issued instructions to prepare a new plan for the Lithuanian Army's deployment, targeting its units against Red Army garrisons in Lithuania. There were evidently good reasons for the Estonian bourgeois newspaper PYAEVALEKHT [name as published] to ask, in an editorial in its issue of 29 February 1940, whether it was not already time to extend the 1934 treaty on cooperation among the Baltic states by incorporating the military assistance treaty in it, "thus enshrining the de facto prevailing situation."

The Need for Mutual Assistance [subhead]

Meanwhile, the mutual assistance treaty with the USSR caused an influx of new hopes among Lithuania's working people. Their life was becoming increasingly hard in wartime conditions, and there was a considerable growth of dissatisfaction among workers and working peasants with their economic position and the social system. Even the Security Department admitted that "more favorable conditions have developed for expansion of the Communist Party's activities."

President A. Smetona, extremely worried by the growth of the working people's antifascist and revolutionary movement, decided to subordinate Lithuania to Hitler's Germany. Keeping this a secret from the government, at the end of February 1940 he gave the following instructions to Security Department Director A. Povilaytis, who was on his way to Germany: To notify Germany's Government unofficially, through the Gestapo leaders, that the political orientation toward Britain and France was "mistaken and even harmful," that he "had decided to change orientation toward Germany" and to ask whether Germany would agree to accept Lithuania under its protectorate. This was essentially confirmed later on by Hitler who, in his 22 June 1941 speech, noted that Lithuania's Government, effectively President A. Smetona, had asked for German troops to be sent into Lithuania.

Latvian Ambassador in Berlin Kriyevin, in reports dating back to May 1940, spoke of maps of the so-called "new Europe" circulating widely in Germany, showing the Baltic states as part of Hitler's Reich. He also informed Riga on 12 June 1940 of strong rumors in Berlin to the effect that Hitler would take action against the USSR following victory in the West.

Smetona's ambassador in Berlin was informed that Germany would be able to take Lithuania under its protectorate "even before September 1940," and in any event "no later than the end of the war in the West." For the time being, however, it would be unable to intervene in events in the Baltic countries owing to the war in West Europe. Satisfied with this news, President A. Smetona gave instructions that all possible assistance should be given to Germany's representatives.

Meanwhile, more German troops and warships had appeared in Klaipeda already in April 1940. By month's end, the Hitlerites had concentrated larger motorized units along the Lithuanian border. Lithuania's working people were becoming more clearly aware of the danger threatening the country. The police chief of Mariyampole (now Kapsukas) district reported in April that, according to the local population, "had there been no Russian bases in the Baltic states, the Germans would

have already occupied these states." This is why the people's masses in Lithuania demanded strict observance of the mutual assistance treaty with the USSR.

At the same time, the reactionary circles were committing provocations against Soviet servicemen. It was obvious that the intelligence service was involved, and the USSR Government warned the Lithuanian Government 25 May 1940 that the provocative policy of Lithuania's organs of power could have "serious consequences." But the government of A. Smetona and A. Merkis failed to take the necessary measures against the real culprits in the provocations.

The Hitlerites advanced swiftly deep inside France. A. Smetona was hoping that, following the surrender of France, Hitler would turn eastward and would honor his promise of taking Lithuania under his protection. Lithuania's reactionary ruling circles were unwilling to see the Soviet Union coming to Lithuania's help in conformity with the mutual assistance treaty in the event of invasion by Hitler's troops. This is why they intended to take armed actions against Red Army units in such a case.

It was in these conditions that on 4 June 1940 the USSR Government invited Lithuanian Prime Minister A. Merkis to come to Moscow to discuss questions concerning mutual relations between the USSR and Lithuania. During the meetings on 7 and 9 June, the Soviet Government leaders pointed out that the Soviet Union had always pursued a friendly policy toward Lithuania and, at the same time, noted instances testifying that Lithuania's organs of power had committed gross violations of the mutual assistance treaty with the USSR. It was bluntly declared that Internal Affairs Minister K. Skuchas and Security Department Director A. Povilaytis were directly responsible for provocative actions against the Soviet garrisons. As if to confirm this, Gen V. Vitkauskas, Lithuanian Army commander in 1940, later wrote that the threads of all anti-Soviet provocations led to the security organs and the army staff's second department.

Merkis returned to Kaunas 12 June. Gestapo emissary Grefe [name as published] arrived in Kaunas from Germany on the same day. He recommended that Lithuanian troops should prepare to resist the Red Army and, obviously on his government's instructions, intimated that should the need arise Germany would agree to admit and intern the Lithuanian Army as well as members of the government and all others who so wished. There can be no doubt that this was immediately reported to President A. Smetona. The cabinet made no decision on the Moscow talks in these circumstances. But Smetona summoned Army Commander Gen V. Vitkauskas and told him bluntly that serious clashes could not be avoided in relations with the Soviet Union and that it was necessary to prepare for this. He thus unambiguously took the path of anti-Soviet policy.

The Hitlerites entered Paris 14 June, and Wehrmacht troop formations started being transported to the East, creating a major threat to the security of the USSR state borders. Moreover, around 80,000 storm troopers and German "tourists" and 200 combat aircraft were concentrated along the Lithuanian-German border in June 1940. Germany was planning to manufacture a pretext for sending its troops into Lithuania by using an old scenario and provoking a conflict with Red Army units. Strategically speaking, Gen V. Vitkauskas was to recall later, it was perfectly obvious that Germany, preparing to attack the Soviet Union at a frenzied pace, would take all steps to ensure the swiftest possible capture of Lithuania and the entire Baltic region so as to acquire an ideal bridgehead for the future attack.

Appraising the prevailing situation, the USSR Government handed a note to the Lithuanian Government 14 June stating that Lithuania's organs of power had committed gross violations of the mutual assistance treaty with the USSR and drawing attention to the need to take specific steps to ensure the unconditional implementation of this treaty. It raised the question of increasing the numerical strength of Soviet troops units in Lithuania so as to strengthen peace and security in East Europe. This was that much more important in view of the already observed concentration of Hitler's troops in East Prussia. At the same time, the note emphasized that the Soviet Government deemed it necessary to put Internal Affairs Minister K. Skuchas and Security Department Director A. Povilaytis immediately on trial as direct culprits in provocative actions against the Soviet garrison in Lithuania, and also to form a government in Lithuania capable of securing an honest performance of the treaty. The aforementioned facts make it clear that the presentation of the question in these terms was connected with the prevailing circumstances. Nevertheless, from the viewpoint of normal diplomatic relations, these demands had all the signs of direct interference in a sovereign state's internal affairs. Furthermore, the note was presented in the form of an ultimatum, this being an example of Stalin's administrative edict methods being extended to the sphere of foreign policy relations.

During the discussion of the note at a cabinet session President A. Smetona—whose secret talks with Hitler's Germany were unknown to members of the government—adhered as before to extreme anti-Soviet positions, striving to provoke a conflict with Red Army units and preparing for the entry of Hitler's army into Lithuania. But the majority of members of the government managed to objectively assess the motivation behind the demands which had been made and urged acceptance of the Soviet proposals. Lithuania's Foreign Minister Urbshis, who was in Moscow at the time, informed the USSR Government 15 June that all proposals contained in the note had been accepted.

The entry of additional Red Army units into Lithuanian territory signified the total collapse of the adventurist plans for a protectorate under Hitler's Germany. A.

Smetona fled abroad the same day. This marked the collapse of his reactionary regime.

How did the new Red Army units go in? How were they met and received?

I was living in Kaunas at the time and was an eyewitness of these events. I would say this: Lithuanians met the Red Army mainly with goodwill and in a proper manner. There were, however, some people who were dreaming of taking advantage of the first suitable opportunity to reverse the wheels of history, people holding firm to anti-Soviet and bourgeois-nationalist positions.

But here is one more item of evidence from that time which, in my view, is very important. Lithuanian Foreign Minister Yu. Urbshis said in a speech in January 1940:

"The Soviet Union's troops do not in any way interfere in our internal affairs.... We are running our country in the same way as we ran it prior to the 10 October treaty, and it is also true that hitherto we have in no way been insulted by the Soviet Union's troops, there has been no divergence from the treaty's provisions and the principles of hospitality...."

The new people's government was established 17 June. It must be emphasized: The Western powers perceived its establishment as normal and constitutional and maintained normal diplomatic relations with it. And Soviet power was restored in Lithuania.

All three republics became part of the USSR in early August. That marked the beginning of a new stage in their history.

Ovechkin Hijacking Trial Opens in Irkutsk

PM0809134788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Sbitnev report: "Air Hijackers' Trial"]

[Text] A visiting session of the Leningrad Oblast Court began its work 6 September in Irkutsk. The public sitting is hearing the case of the Ovechkin family's attempt on 8 March this year to hijack a passenger aircraft and take it outside the USSR. A. Kiselev, member of the oblast court, and Yu. Movchanyuk and V. Tsibro, two people's assessors, came to conduct the proceedings.

Following the tragic events on board the TU-154B airliner, the two surviving members of the large Ovechkin family—28-year-old Olga and 17-year-old Igor—appeared before the court. They are accused, first, of seizing an airliner using firearms with a view to taking it outside the USSR; and second, of attempting to illegally cross the state border. The indictment also says that as a result of the Ovechkin family's criminal actions, stewardess T. Zharkaya and passengers L. Savkova, T. Soboleva, and Ye. Manakov died and 35 people were injured. Since the aircraft was completely burned out, the state incurred material damage totaling R1,371,948.

"Our task," A. Kiselev said, "is to thoroughly clear up all the circumstances of the case and the plaintiffs' degree of culpability. The cross-examination of the victims and witnesses—more than 100 of them have been assembled—and the publication of individual materials from the criminal proceedings—amounting to 18 volumes—will take a few days. We have a great deal of work ahead."

The first day of the judicial trial showed how great the townspeople's interest is in it. There was one surprise: Igor Ovechkin renounced his deposition at the preliminary investigation and did not acknowledge his guilt concerning any of the charges brought against him. His cross-examination will begin in court on the morning of 7 September.

Juvenile, Group Crime in Kazan Examined

PM0509115188 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 33, 15-21 Aug 88 (Signed to Press 17 Aug 88) p 3

[Letter from V. Pankin, chief of the USSR MVD Criminal Investigations Main Administration, under the rubric "Official Correspondence": "Taken to Task"]

[Text] V. Gatov's article "Fear" (NEDELYA No 21, 1988) was investigated on the spot by the USSR MVD Criminal Investigations Main Administration. The main administration's collective shares the author's concern regarding the crimes and breaches of public order committed by members of groupings of adolescents and youths in the city of Kazan. We accept as correct the article's assessment of the state of affairs and the proposals regarding improved collaboration between law enforcement organs and fuller consideration of all circumstances when choosing countermeasures, especially detention under guard.

The internal affairs organs are taking measures to step up the struggle against group crime. All five murders committed in the course of group fights in Kazan in 1988 have been solved. Proposals have been formulated and are being implemented which involve a comprehensive approach to the prevention of breaches of the law, the development of the material base for social, cultural, and consumer service facilities, and the conducting of an experiment to introduce young people's self-management at places of study and work.

The USSR MVD Academy and the Kazan State University are conducting extensive social and psychological studies of problems concerning the prevention of breaches of the law by juveniles and young people.

USSR MVD teams were sent to Kazan to render practical assistance in the prevention and investigation of crimes. A number of the leaders and active members of groups who have committed crimes in the past have been identified, and 54 of them have been arrested.

Agreement has been reached with the USSR State Committee for Public Education to issue additional travel vouchers to special vocational and technical schools for adolescents who have committed group crimes.

A "Kazan-Moscow" television linkup was organized with the active participation of representatives of Kazan's party, Komsomol, and law enforcement organs, scientific institutions, mass media, and the USSR MVD. It looked at the facts contained in the article "Fear" and discussed additional measures to improve educational work among juveniles.

It is our opinion that, in addition to the work done by internal affairs organs, there is a need for more active participation by labor collectives in the prevention of group crimes.

Smuggler Convicted; Anti-Drug Efforts Cited

LD0509102688 Moscow TASS in English 0949 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov:

The Moscow City Court has concluded hearing the case of Usman Toure, a resident of Copenhagen, who tried to smuggle nearly three kilogrames of marijuana to Denmark from Benin via the USSR. He received three years in prison to be served in a camp of heightened regime.

Viktor Chebrikov, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR State Security Committee, called illegal trafficking in drugs "a specially dangerous type of smuggling" in a recent interview to the newspaper PRAVDA. In the past years Soviet border guards had to render harmless on many occasions armed smugglers, who tried to cross the Soviet border by routes other than checkpoints. These cases alone yielded more than two tonnes of drugs in the past five years.

According to the workers of the USSR Procurator's Office in charge of these issues, the size of Toure's cargo was far from "record-breaking". The customs at the Moscow International Airport Sheremetyevo-2 detained and convicted to long terms of imprisonment Babalola Bello from Nigeria and Pattie Stella Michel from Ghana for smuggling nearly 15 kilogrammes of heroine.

"These and other smuggling trips to Western Europe were carried out through Moscow on Aeroflot planes," said Sergey Chistyakov, a senior prosecutor at a department of the USSR Procurator's Office. "In fact, antidrug services did not regard our country as a source of the 'white death' for a long time. The 'mules', as drug traffickers are called in the parlance of narcomafia, took advantage of this."

Sergey Chistyakov noted that competent Soviet bodies knew the routes of drug "migration". Flights from, for example, Latin America or South East Asia, from where narcotics mainly come, draw utmost attention. Hence the result: Last year alone the USSR Procurator's Office referred to the court nine criminal cases involving drugs. Tens of kilogrammes of heroin, hashish, marijuana and cocaine, en route to Western Europe through the Soviet Union, were seized. All smugglers were convicted. The representative of the USSR Procurator's Office stressed that the country's law-enforcement agencies took all measures to tighten control over drug trafficking.

Briefs

Vilnius Paper Expands

VECHERNIYE NOVOSTI, a newspaper for Vilnius, has started appearing in a half-size format with 16 pages, instead of the usual 4 full-size pages. The daily circulation of the newspaper, which is printed in Lithuanian and Russian, is 125,000 copies, clearly inadequate for a city of half a million inhabitants. The innovation will meet readers' wishes. A [word indistinct] proportion of the Saturday edition used to remain on the shelves until Monday. The paper now will be printed in its traditional format four times a week, and in its pocket-size form on Saturday. [Summary] [*LD0309021688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 3 Sep 88*]

Economic

Rules Established for Consumer Services

PM0609103188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 88 Second Edition pp 1,2

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution "On Measures To Radically Restructure the Sphere of Paid Services for the Population," the draft of which was adopted by the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum.

The USSR Council of Ministers pointed out in the resolution that, in accordance with the demands of the 27th party congress, the councils of ministers of the union republics, local soviet organs, ministries, and departments have begun to devote greater attention to questions of developing the services sphere. The growth rates for the volume of services offered to the population have increased and the range of services has expanded.

However, the sphere of paid services is still neglected and is slow to develop. The population's demand for many types of paid services is not being met and the proportion of paid services in consumer expenditure remains low. Great differences between the country's regions and between city and countryside can still be observed in the demand for services.

The councils of ministers in the union republics and ministries and departments have been tasked with restructuring the sphere of paid services, sharply accelerating its development, and radically improving the quality of the service offered to the population by forming a modern material and technical base, enlisting all enterprises and associations irrespective of their departmental affiliation to provide services, creating a ramified network of cooperatives, developing individual labor activity, improving the economic mechanism in the sphere of paid services, broadly introducing the principles of economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing in the activity of enterprises and associations offering the population paid services, and removing unwarranted restrictions curbing the initiative of labor collectives, cooperatives, and people engaged in individual labor activity.

It is envisaged that the soviets' role and responsibility for meeting the population's requirements for various services will be boosted. It is planned to concentrate special attention on overcoming the differences in the standards of the consumer services offered to the rural and urban populations.

The councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics, local soviet ispolkoms, and USSR ministries and departments have been tasked with the phased resolution of the following tasks:

Ensuring by 1990 an annual increase of 15-20 percent in the volume of paid services provided for the population in comparison with the Comprehensive Program for the Development of the Production of Consumer Goods and the Services Sphere for the Years 1986-2000, bringing the overall volume of paid services for the population in 1990 to R72.4 billion, and ensuring that all strata of the population receive unimpeded access to services in adequate supply; and

Meeting by the end of the 13th 5-Year Plan the population's overall demand for paid services, ensuring that the volume of services provided amounts to R119.2 billion in 1995, and thus substantially improving the structure of consumer expenditure for the population by increasing the proportion of paid services in it to 19 percent.

The draft plans for the provision of paid services for the population envisage priority development of domestic and health services and also services linked with tourism, vacations, and leisure and other services in great demand.

The main tasks for developing specific types of services have been determined.

It is planned to increase the volume of consumer services in 1995 by 130 percent in comparison with 1987. Services helping to reduce manpower wastage on housework (laundries, dry cleaning, clothes repair services, and other types of work) will be developed. It is planned to ensure an annual increase in 1989-1990 of at least 30 percent for services relating to the repair and construction of housing (apartments and apartment blocks) and the erection of buildings for horticultural societies, garages, and other structures ordered by the population and by the end of the 13th 5-Year Plan meet the population's demand for these services. It is planned to mainly meet the population's needs for technical servicing and the repair of transport systems by extensively developing the network of technical service stations, increasing shift work, and organizing the fulfillment of these services at motorized transport enterprises, automobile service stations, cooperative garages, and at stopping places. By 1990 the population's requirements for freight-shipping services will be fully met in all cities, rayon centers, and sovkhoz and kolkhoz areas; it is planned to involve departmental motorized transport along with general-purpose transport in these activities on a contract basis. The accelerated development of such forms of services as plot cultivation, fertilizer application, plant pest and disease control, small machinery and horticultural and truck gardening equipment hire, and so on is envisaged.

There are plans in the sphere of tourism, recreation, and leisure to increase the volume of services in 1995 by 200 percent in comparison with 1987. With this in view it is planned to make maximum use of the existing material base (including the departmental base) of medical health spa establishments, vacation homes, guest houses, and other health establishments, and also hotels, campsites, and motels, in particular by considerably extending the working season for the aforementioned establishments. The construction of new health establishments, primarily for parents vacationing with children, will also be expanded.

The task has been set of creating in 1988-1989 in all the country's health resort areas economically accountable organizations providing comprehensive services for citizens coming on vacation or for treatment without travel vouchers and of providing them with food, accommodation, transport tickets, and cultural excursions. It is planned to make extensive use of the individual housing stock and other housing premises in order to organize the population's recreation.

The additional paid services—not included in the cost of the travel voucher—offered to vacationers will be increased by organizing consumer service points and economically accountable consulting rooms and carrying

out paid mass cultural and health measures. The creation of city and rayon cultural sports complexes and cultural and leisure centers for young people is envisaged.

In the sphere of physical education, sport, and public health there are plans to create conditions for a substantial expansion in paid services along with the provision of unpaid services. The volume of services provided to physical education and sporting establishments will have to be increased many times through the extensive development of a network of sports facilities and the organization of paid sections, groups, sports clubs, and "Physical Education and Health" associations. For this purpose maximum use must be made of stadiums, swimming pools, sports halls, and buildings belonging to enterprises, associations, sports societies, schools, higher and secondary special educational establishments, recreation and leisure parks, vacation homes and bases, sanatoria, and other organizations.

It is planned to expand medical, medical-social, and health services, to develop a network of economically accountable consultation-diagnosis and dental clinics and departments, narcotic addiction outpatient drug abuse clinics and consulting rooms, cosmetic surgery hospitals, health complexes, and homes for people in need of constant care. It has been determined that in 1995 the volume of paid medical services provided must be increased by 300 percent in comparison with 1987.

It is planned to increase the volume of communications services for the population in 1995 by 110 percent in comparison with 1987. The priority development of telephone communications services is envisaged: The task has been set of providing one in two families with a telephone in 1995.

The network of paid reference and information services issuing subscribers with information on socioconsumer and other questions and also the network of notarial offices and juridical clinics must be considerably expanded; the requisite quantity of economically accountable organizations will have to be set up to provide the population with computerized services offering the choice of options for exchanging their living space.

The USSR Ministry of Transport, the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, and the councils of ministers in the union republics have been tasked with envisaging an immediate increase in the volumes of shipments above all on lines linking the country's industrial region's with health resort regions and tourist centers, with the intention of meeting the population's demand for this kind of shipment as a whole in 1990; they have been tasked with organizing at railroad stations, airports, sea and river ports, at stopping places, and en route various types of paid services for passengers providing additional conveniences and comfort and improving the organization of ticket sales.

It is recommended that the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism make fuller use of existing capacities for providing Soviet citizens with services along with improving the services offered to foreign tourists and ensure that they are provided with R416 million and R770 million worth of paid services in 1990 and 1995 respectively.

The USSR Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Radio Industry, and other ministries manufacturing radioelectronic apparatus and high-tech domestic equipment have been tasked with ensuring the accelerated development of in-house technical servicing and repair of radioelectronic apparatus and high-tech domestic equipment by stepping up work to create a broad network of specialized technical trading and technical centers performing in-house technical servicing and repair of radioelectronic apparatus and high-tech domestic equipment, enlisting all manufacturing enterprises in the technical servicing and repair of the domestic apparatus and equipment that they produce both during its guaranteed service life and also after the expiry of the guarantee, and implementing measures to considerably improve the technical servicing and repair of rural inhabitants' radioelectronic apparatus and high-tech domestic equipment through collaboration on a contract basis with enterprises in the system of ministries providing consumer services for the population of the union republics.

It is recommended that the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and local soviets' ispolkoms offer the necessary assistance in organizing in-house technical servicing and repair of radioelectronic apparatus and high-tech domestic equipment on territory under their jurisdiction and promptly resolve questions linked with the construction and allocation of production premises for these purposes.

Given the tasks that have been set with regard to the maximum development of the sphere of paid services for the population, it is recommended that USSR ministries and departments and the councils of ministers of the union republics take steps to strengthen the material and technical base, using as prescribed funds from development funds in enterprises, kolkhozes, and other cooperative organizations, USSR bank credits, the population's funds, and also other sources for this along with the allocation of centralized state capital investments, the cooperativization of material, manpower, and financial resources of associations, enterprises, and organizations to construct and commission facilities in the sphere of paid services, and the expansion of the own-resources methods of constructing sanatoria, vacation homes, sports complexes, public health establishments, and other facilities in the sphere of paid services using the experience that progressive labor collectives have accumulated in this field.

The councils of ministers of the union republics have been tasked with ensuring the production of the requisite volumes of construction materials and sanitary-technical

equipment in order to meet in full the requirements for these products from enterprises providing the population with consumer services.

The resolution provides for measures to speed up the retooling of the public consumer service sphere. Ministries and departments have been set concrete targets for 1989-1995 for the development and assimilation of series production of technological equipment for consumer services enterprises.

A proposal from the RSFSR, Ukrainian SSR, Belorussian SSR, Kazakh SSR, Lithuanian SSR, Moldavian SSR, Latvian SSR, and Estonian SSR Councils of Ministers concerning production volumes in 1989-1995 for technological equipment, machines, appliances, and instruments for consumer service enterprises was accepted.

The union republic councils of ministers are instructed to ensure that consumer enterprises are allocated small trucks in 1989-1995, and the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Gossnab, and the USSR Ministry of the Automobile Industry have been tasked with ensuring an annual increase of 2,000 in 1989-1990 compared with 1988 in the numbers of the above vehicles allocated to the union republic councils of ministers.

The leading ministries and departments in the provision of paid services to the population, together with ministries from industrial machine building and defense sectors, must elaborate and ratify in 1988-1989 measures for the 13th 5-Year Plan and the longer term measures to create and produce the equipment necessary to ensure the fulfillment of the targets envisaged by the present resolution for the development services linked with vacations, leisure, and people's health.

The USSR Gosstroy and the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work are tasked in 1988-1989 with developing standard blueprints for prefabricated buildings (units) made out of lightweight metal structures to the specifications of the RSFSR Ministry of Consumer Services and of other ministries and departments specializing in the provision of services in order to house enterprises providing the population with paid services.

As of 1990 the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work is to organize the manufacture of the volume of prefabricated buildings (units) made of lightweight metal structures determined by the USSR Gosplan according to the aforementioned blueprints for enterprises, associations, and organizations offering the population paid services.

The resolution plans by the end of the 12th 5-Year Plan to switch to supplying enterprises, associations, and organizations in the sphere of paid services with output that is not distributed in a centralized way through wholesale trade.

It is recommended that ministries and departments specializing in providing the population with paid services and the USSR State Committee for Public Education train the requisite cadres for servicing the population on a contract basis at the request of ministries, departments, enterprises, associations, and organizations for which the provision of paid services is not the main source of activity.

The resolution determines the areas for restructuring the mechanism of economic activity in the sphere of paid services on the basis of the principles of economic accountability and self-financing and determines measures to boost the interest of labor collectives in improving services.

In order to ensure more effective collaboration between the councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics and local soviet ispolkoms and the USSR ministries and departments and to combine sectoral and territorial control over the development of the sphere of paid services it is envisaged that:

Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and local soviet ispolkoms will, by studying the population's requirements, ensure the multifaceted and comprehensive development of the services sphere on territory under their jurisdiction and bear full responsibility for completely and qualitatively meeting the population's requirements for paid services. They are responsible for coordinating the work of paid services carried out by republic and local government organs and also by the associations, enterprises, and organizations under union jurisdiction located on the relevant territory;

USSR ministries and departments must collaborate closely with the union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and kray and oblast soviet ispolkoms and take steps to rapidly develop paid services at all enterprises under their jurisdiction and associations in an effort to more fully meet the requirements of their workers and other citizens for these services and to increase every sector's contribution to the development of the services sphere.

The resolution determines the procedure for planning paid services.

Guided by the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), associations, enterprises, and organizations must agree on their draft plans for the development of paid services with the councils of ministers of the relevant union (without oblast division) or autonomous republic and local soviet ispolkoms.

The USSR State Committee for Standards together with the USSR State Committee for Statistics is tasked with elaborating and establishing in 1989 an all-union classified register [klassifikator] of paid services.

When restructuring the work of the sphere of paid services, the councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics, ministries, departments, and local soviet ispolkoms are instructed to proceed on the premise that the main avenues for this work must be the systematic transfer in 1988-1989 of enterprises, associations, and organizations in the aforementioned sphere to primarily economic methods of management, the consistent introduction into their activity of principles of economic accountability and self-financing, and the economic responsibility of enterprises, associations, and organizations for the results of their activity. With regard to enterprises, associations, and organizations developing services for the population through combined forms of financing (state budget funds and revenue received from services), it is planned to consistently carry out a policy of increasing the proportion of own resources, thus creating the best possibilities of stimulating efficient work.

Local soviet ispolkoms are given the right to authorize enterprises providing paid services to fix prices (tariffs) for up to 2 years on new types of services and also to fix markups and reductions on existing prices (tariffs) for services depending on the season, the time of day, and also on the quality of the services provided.

The union republic councils of ministers and local soviet ispolkoms are recommended to do their utmost to promote the broad use of the lease, collective, and individual contracts at enterprises, associations, and organizations offering paid services, to support citizens' initiative in organizing cooperatives, and to offer them various kinds of help in production and economic activity.

They have been instructed to be more active in introducing cooperative forms of providing services in the sphere of recreation, leisure, physical education, sports, and public health.

Special attention must be devoted to the creation of cooperatives and to recruiting citizens to work in the services sphere on the basis of individual labor activity in rural localities and small population centers where it is economically unviable to maintain state enterprises in this sphere and also in regions with surplus manpower resources.

In order to step up the interest of enterprises, associations, and organizations in assisting citizens engaged in individual labor activity in the services sphere, the aforementioned enterprises, associations, and organizations are authorized to include in reports on the fulfillment of state orders for paid services the volume of services offered by these citizens using equipment, instruments, and material resources from the enterprises, associations, and organizations in question.

The USSR State Committee for Statistics, the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Bank of Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development, and the USSR Gosplan are tasked with elaborating, with the participation of interested ministries and departments, a procedure for keeping account of the volumes of services offered to the population by citizens engaged in individual labor activity.

In order to widely recruit various categories of citizens to offer services to the population, the leaders of enterprises, associations, and organizations have been given the right to enlist for paid services workers, engineering technical workers, and employees, including workers from these enterprises, associations, and organizations during their spare time from their main work. It is also planned to actively promote the participation in paid services of pensioners, housewives, and students, including the fulfillment of single jobs, with labor remuneration at fixed rates or on a contract basis immediately on completion of the work and receipt by the client.

It is laid down that for enterprises, associations, and organizations for which the provision of paid services does not constitute their main activity the money earned from these services is an additional source of income for collectives' production and social development and for labor remuneration. The procedure for making use of the money earned is determined by the leader of the enterprise, association, or organization following agreement with the labor collective council.

Work (services) not included in the volume of output (work, service) from the main activity of the aforementioned enterprises, associations, and organizations must be remunerated over and above the wages fund formed in accordance with normatives and for enterprises and organizations that have not switched to the normative method of wages fund formation—over and above their fixed labor plan.

In order to step up the interest of workers engaged in providing paid services, boost labor efficiency, increase the volume of services, and improve the quality of services, the leaders of enterprises, associations, and organizations providing paid services are given the right to fix additional payments and markups agreed with trade union committees within the envisaged wages fund: Provided that teams (links) fulfill their production targets and given that a high quality of services is provided, and depending on the number of workers in a team and the volume and specific nature of the work carried out, team leaders from those workers who are not released from their main activity and section leaders are paid additional payments for leading the team or section of up to R40 per month and up to 50 percent of that amount respectively; workers receive an additional payment of up to 50 percent of the rate (salary for the job) for the main job from the money saved in the wages fund from discharged workers' wages (official salary) for combining professions (duties), broadening the area of services, or increasing the volume of work performed; workers, foremen, sector chiefs, specialists, and employees receive additional payments for performing the

duties of a temporarily absent worker in addition to their own main work—amounting to up to 50 percent of the rate (salary) for their main work, but no more than 50 percent (salary for the job) of the absent worker's wages; subunit leaders, specialists, and employees receive an additional payment of up to 50 percent of their salary for high achievements in labor or for carrying out particularly important work within a time limit.

It is recommended that soviet and economic organs considerably boost the level of organizational work to radically restructure the sphere of services and to ensure its comprehensive and dynamic development.

Ukrainian Ministry Closes Loss-Making Facility

PM0509135588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 18 Aug 88 p 2

[TASS correspondents G. Nekrasova and Ye. Savinova report: "Once an Enterprise Goes Bankrupt. The Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Local Industry Decides To Close Down Chervonograd's Loss-Making Sewn Goods Factory in Lvov Oblast"]

[Text] Its record is unenviable. There has always been a surplus female work force in the mining region. The enterprise was established 20 years ago to provide employment. Some 500 women found a job to do. But the pity was that ministry officials forgot all about the factory as soon as it opened. It started operating in four wooden barracks, and it ended its operations in those same four barracks.

The oblast prosecutor's office detected the first symptoms of financial "disease" at the factory 3 years ago. It brought to light large quantities of substandard clothing and large surplus stocks of underwear. The director, the chief engineer, and the quality control section chief were severely punished. Nonetheless, the pursuit of bulk production continued. Consequently, the factory built up a deficit running into millions as a result of fines and monetary sanctions in respect of short deliveries or deliveries of reject products.

"We strove to help the laggard factory," A. Kernyakevich, chief of the Lvov Oblast Local Industry Administration, told us. "New equipment was supplied. Money subsidies in the last 2 years alone amounted to R1.5 million. But they were used to pay fines rather than to develop production."

And so, the factory has been closed down. Two of its production sections have been handed over to the Lvov Artistic Goods Factory. Some seamstresses have taken new jobs with the "Galantereya" Association.

"We have good incentives for work," seamstress team leader Kh. Khasanova said. "Now we are sewing only articles that are in demand. Salaries have almost doubled; there are guaranteed bonuses for good quality work."

But seamstresses from another section of the former factory have been left without jobs. A commission has been set up to find them work. There are still 36 women looking for work today. While jobs are being sought for them, they will receive full wages for 3 months.

Ye. Zubov, Ukrainian SSR first deputy minister of local industry, comments:

"Keeping bankrupt factories going inflicts great economic damage on the sector. After all, expenditure has to be met from ministry funds, taking money from profitable enterprises. Such a policy only creates an illusion of prosperity."

The closure of loss-making enterprises can take one of two forms. They either become shops attached to economically sound factories or are leased by the workers themselves. For example, the Gavrilovka subsidiary of the Dergachevskiy industrial combine in Kharkov Oblast was taken over by workers on a lease contract. As a result of this there has been a 30-percent increase in output volume.

Foreign Banks Give Credits to Joint Enterprises

LD0209230288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1609 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 1 Sep (TASS)—A new form of granting credits to joint enterprises in the USSR has been worked out by the British and Finnish banks. Its first practical application was a credit agreement that was signed today in the Soviet capital by the Moscow Narodny Bank (Bank with Soviet capital in London) and the Finnish commercial bank "Postipankki."

These financial institutions have granted to the Soviet-Finnish company "Chudovo-RVS" a credit of DM60 million for a period of 12 and ½ years. Its main special feature is that these sums are being granted without the guarantee of the USSR Foreign Economic Activity Bank.

"I think that our decision to make do without such a guarantee opens a new path for financing activity of joint enterprises in the USSR. This is especially important because financial issues comprise one of the most complex problems of this new form of foreign economic contacts in the Soviet Union," Aleksandr Myagkov, representative of the Moscow Narodny Bank, told a TASS correspondent.

Another special feature of this agreement is, he added, that despite the deliveries of the bulk of the equipment from Finland, the joint enterprise's payments will be made in freely convertible currency, that is, payments will not be part of the Soviet-Finnish clearing settlements system.

"Chudo-RVS," which was set up in June this year, will deal with the construction and running of the factory for the production of approximately 50,000 cubic meters of veneer in the town of Chudovo (the northwestern part of European Russia).

Agricultural

Goskomstat Gives Harvest, Threshing Figures

LD0709201788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 7 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The USSR's Goskomstat reports that by 5 September grain and bean crops without corn were cut from 91.8 million hectares. This is 84 percent of the sown areas. Crops have been threshed on 97 percent of the cut acreage. Potatoes have been harvested from 15 percent of sown acreage.

'No Worse' Than Last Year

LD0709223788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] Now, about what is happening in the agricultural sector. I have invited to the studio my colleague, the commentator Aleksandr Ruvinskiy. Today is Wednesday. It is usually on this day of the week that statistics on how things are going in the fields are issued by the office of the State Committee for Statistics. What comments could be made about the situation at the present moment?

[Ruvinskiy] We have indeed received these statistics, and the figures in themselves do not give rise to any particular concern, as it were. With regard to the speed of the work, the harvest is going no worse than last year, for example. Nevertheless, quite a few problems still remain if we look beyond these figures. Let us take the cereal crops. The harvest, that is, both the mowing and the threshing, is finished over an area of almost 89 million hectares. This is 81 percent of the total area sown. So, four-fifths have been harvested. However, it will not be easy to gather in the remaining part. Rain is complicating the work and in general the weather in eastern Siberia is inclement. The weather they are getting now usually comes much later. It has come now, at the very peak of the harvest in these regions. So naturally the rate at which grain is being procured has fallen off somewhat.

[Announcer] Well, it is not the first year that the weather has been a nuisance to our agricultural workers. It always happens. As you know, many agricultural crops, which are usually called late crops, are being harvested at the same time. How are things going in that sphere?

[Ruvinskiy] Yes, these are the technical and stalked crops, oil crops and sugar beets, which are being lifted. There is also a great volume of work here, and these crops take up a significant area, by the way, in our Siberian farms, too. Besides these crops, the laying in of feed is also continuing on a large scale—this should be remembered. Sugar processing works in the Ukraine have come into production, in the central Chernozem area, in the Kuban, and in a number of other places. The sunflower crop is not bad, but there are always many problems with harvesting it, because the oil seeds must be dried immediately; otherwise, they will be good only for animal feed or for technical uses. There is a chronic shortage of drying equipment, in both sovkhozes and kolkhozes and in the state processing enterprises.

The farms of the Ukraine, Latvia, the Udmurt ASSR, and the Brest, Ivanov, and Minsk oblasts have already completed the flax harvest. The lifting of the potato crop is going a little faster than last year: The potatoes on 15 percent of the land allotted to them have already been dug up.

[Announcer] Aleksandr, tell me honestly and frankly—could the way things are going in the agricultural sector be better, in your opinion?

[Ruvinskiy] You know, it is now already clear that, for example, there will be less grain harvested this year than last year. Unfortunately, such a way of organizing labor as contract leasing—we set great store by it—has not been introduced extensively enough. By no means on every farm are there individual leaseholders or collectives working on a leasehold basis. There are many reasons for this. In some cases it is the opposition of specialists, managers at the place of work, the absence of clear guarantees made to the leaseholders, and for that reason they are frequently afraid of leasing the land. There are a range of other reasons as well. In general the results of work in leasehold collectives on average for our agriculture sector are very different from the general position in the agricultural and animal farming sectors. For the time being, leaseholding remains a huge reserve force in our agriculture.

[Announcer] So it seems we should give leaseholding the green light. Without this, clearly nothing will happen, and we will not receive as much produce as needed.

Agricultural Developments for 4-6 Sep Noted

LD0809034388 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 4 to 6 September. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

4 September

Kursk farmers have fulfilled the plan for grain sales to the state, supplying more than 930,000 tonnes, a considerable proportion of which consists of grain from valuable varieties of wheat. More than 88,000 tonnes of seed grain for next year's harvest has poured into the state granaries, in parallel with marketable grain. (0600)

In Tselinograd Oblast, more than 95 percent of the grain delivered to the state has been recognized as belonging to the best and strong varieties. This is considerably more than in past years. The farms receive supplementary payments of up to R.80 per tonne of such grain. (1500)

There are problems for farmers in Krasnoyarsk Kray, where half of the grain is lying down and ripening is 2 weeks late. The situation is similar to last year when more than 100,000 hectares of grain was lost under the snow. There has been hardly any summer this year, with autumnal weather setting in immediately after crops were sown. Equipment has let the farmers down, too; nonetheless, they are doing everything to counter the elements. (1950)

5 September

No fileworthy items monitored.

6 September

The grain growers of the Kazakh virgin lands are completing the harvest on the 2d million hectares. Tselinograd Oblast kolkhozes and sovkhozes intend to sell more than 9 million tonnes of grain to the state. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 0550 GMT)

In Tambov Oblast, the last harvesters have left the fields. Grain and bean crops have been harvested and threshed on almost 1.2 million hectares. Some 680,000 tonnes of wheat, rye, barley, oats, millet, and buckwheat have been supplied to the state, which is almost two-thirds of the state plan. (0600)

This is the period of most intensive work for potato farmers. Tubers are being cultivated in the country on an area of nearly 3 million hectares. Their average yield is quite low as yet, but new technologies currently are being introduced in the cultivation of this crop and the renewal of varieties is under way. All of this should yield results. (1100)

Mass cotton harvesting has begun in Tajikistan. So far, more than 70,000 tonnes of raw cotton has been delivered to processing centers, significantly more than for the corresponding period of last year. (1330)

Scientific

Further Details on Landing of 'Soyuz TM-5'

Report From Landing Site

LD0709120488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] As we have already reported, the Soviet-Afghan flight ended today at 0450. Here is a report from the landing site of the descent vehicle, the "Soyuz TM-5," by our special correspondent Leonid Lazareyevich.

[Lazareyevich] I am making this report from a helicopter of the search-and-rescue service. The black dot of the descent vehicle is already a few meters from the earth. The soft-landing motors have gone into action, throwing up clouds of dust. We have touchdown.

And now I am back on earth again alongside the descent vehicle, blackened and covered in soot. Flames have scorched it. Only 20 or 30 minutes ago a searing cloud of heat raged around it.

Everything went well on the last day of the flight, on the last morning. The parachute opened at exactly the time scheduled. The soft-landing motors worked correctly.

The last 24 hours have been very difficult. We twice expected a landing but, for technical reasons, it was postponed. So it was decided that the space flight would end here in the region of Dzhezkazgan, 150 km from this city. So it has all happened. Now specialists of the search-and-rescue service and medics have helped Vladimir Lyakhov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad get out of the vessel.

Here is the first interview with the commander.

[Begin recording] [Lyakhov] We were in excellent control of the situation. It did not pose any danger at all. We could have landed at another site but it was better to come home.

[Lazareyevich] Vladimir Afanasyevich, did you ever undergo any simulation of the situations in this flight?

[Lyakhov] There were such situations simulated, but they are of course played through very quickly, whereas here you had to sit for 24 hours in the descent vehicle. So they were difficult hours.

[Lazareyevich] What were you thinking about all that time?

[Lyakhov] Well, we weren't thinking about anything. We were just thinking about our work. We understood everything that had happened, you see. So there was nothing frightening.

[Lazareyevich] How do you appraise the operation of Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad?

[Lyakhov] He is generally a calm guy; he is calm by nature. As a pilot he bore up excellently.

[Lazareyevich] And now an interview with the doctor [not further unidentified].

[Doctor] [Words indistinct] as good. Of course in the first few minutes there is this emotional tension, but generally speaking they have come through this situation okay. The pulses are within the normal range. The commander had 88 at the start and now it's 82, and the research cosmonaut 68.

[Lazareyevich] Vladimir Afanasyevich, do you think that the training of the the rescuers came in handy in this flight?

[Lyakhov] Yes, it came in very handy, but I would prefer that there not be a situation in which they have to work as rescuers.

[Lazareyevich] Ahad, your impressions of the flight.

[Ahad] I was in space for the first time (?you understand). Earth is honestly very beautiful. When you are on earth you think about your motherland, about your own part of the earth. When you go into space you are concerned about the globe as a whole; it is so beautiful. As far as the flight is concerned, I have the impression that I have completely fulfilled my program.

[Lazareyevich] The last, 9th day of the flight hasn't blurred or changed your impressions of the flight?

[Ahad] On the contrary, on the contrary, they grew stronger. When I was in orbit, there in the vessel without the living compartment, I felt better than on earth, honestly. I even wanted to go around for another 24 hours.

[Lazareyevich] How do you feel now?

[Ahad] Everything is fine. From the 1st day that we went into the station we began working. There was no transition period for us. Now, (?I'm feeling well). [end recording]

Flight Conditions Described

LD0709150788 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Cosmodrome Baykonur September 7 TASS—By TASS special correspondent.

Today the earth welcomed cosmonauts Vladimir Lyakhov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad with rays of the rising sun. Their return from the near-earth orbit delayed for 24 hours ended with a soft-landing of the descent capsule of the spaceship Soyuz TM-5 not far from the city of Dzhezkazgan in Kazakhstan.

The last two nights were sleepless not only for the cosmonauts but also for experts of the flight control centre and the rescue service. All this was caused by a malfunction which prevented the spaceship from decelerating and entering the atmosphere on September 6. The second attempt undertaken three hours after the first also failed. A decision was taken to put off the landing by a day. Vladimir Lyakhov and Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad had to experience considerable difficulties in flight at the spaceship's descent capsule, unsuitable for a many-hour stay of the crew. Antigravitational suits the cosmonauts put on yesterday in preparation for the landing, brace the body so tightly that they can cause bruises. They are usually put on for several hours in the hope for a short descent. Besides, cosmonauts stay practically in complete immobility in the descent capsule: there is no spare room in the capsule. It is not an easy thing to stay under such conditions for 24 hours, especially if we take into account the fact that the small spherical module has no facilities providing daily comforts for the crew. This has been the first such case in the 27 years of Soviet space manned missions.

However, all is well that ends well. A sharp bang resounded high in the skies over a calculated landing place at a pre-set time. That meant that the descent capsule entered the atmosphere at a high altitude and exceeded the sound barrier. 15 minutes later, specialists who had gathered at the landing area, saw the landing of the blistered sphere. Soon the smiling cosmonauts were sitting next to it in chaise lounges. Replying to a question of one of those gathered there, Vladimir Lyakhov said: "There was no danger at the ship. We kept the situation under control. We were ready for a landing even yesterday. However, it could have occurred in some other place, possibly outside the USSR. But we were eager to land in Kazakhstan. Of course it was not an easy thing to sit in spacesuits for 24 hours. I repeat: flight conditions were difficult, not the situation that developed".

Speaking of the Afghan cosmonaut, Vladimir Lyakhov said:

"'Abdullah is a good guy, was calm and confident, as a pilot should be under such conditions."

Mohmand 'Abdullah told a TASS reporter that the landing had been smooth and dynamic overloads were small. "I felt well in the descent capsule," he noted. "The earth looks very beautiful from space. Only looking at it from such a great altitude, one can understand how small it is and how it should be cared for."

The cosmonauts, 90 minutes after the landing, left the plane which brought them to the Baykonur cosmodrome. Tomorrow they will meet pressmen and will describe in greater detail their expedition to the Mir station.

Newsmen Probe Reasons for Spacecraft Emergency
PM0709191588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Special correspondent B. Konovalov report from the flight control center: "Landing at Third Attempt"]

[Excerpt] Flight Control Center—[Passage omitted] After the successful landing of the Soyuz spacecraft, journalists had an opportunity to talk with the experienced deputy flight controller Viktor Blagov, who has been working successfully in this capacity for a long time. To our direct question as to what caused the delay in the landing—equipment failure, errors by the flight control center, or imprecise actions by the crew—Blagov answered in a generalized and philosophical manner:

"Life is to blame, a combination of circumstances."

We naturally wanted to get to the bottom of things and find out why the first two landing attempts were unsuccessful. Yes, it is true that the infrared vertical plotter system did not work properly and because of that the computer switched on the engine late; thus the crew was forced to switch it off so as not to land in China instead of near Arkalyk. But the question arises as to why the computer, which itself immediately calculates the landing site, nevertheless switched on the engine knowing that a landing in this instance would occur in the wrong place?

Furthermore, after 3 hours there was a second attempt at a landing. The orientation of the spacecraft took place under good conditions without any trouble. After this the computer memory maintained this orientation, having disengaged the infrared sensors. But why, suddenly, did the computer use not the descent pattern that had been worked out but instead searched in the backup computer for the setting which had been programmed for correcting the orbit of the Soviet-Bulgarian crew when it was making its approach to the Mir station, and then functioned in line with this old and no longer needed program? In accordance with this program the engine was fired briefly instead of the required protracted burst, and so the engine switched off.

When this happened, why didn't the commander, instead of turning off the computer and switching entirely to manual control, once again issue a command to the computer, which could have been faulty, to continue the operation of the engine? And only when the engine once again cut out because of the craft's loss of stabilization did he do what he should have done from the outset: He curtailed dynamic operations and awaited communication with the control center in order to report on the situation. These and many other questions assailed V. Blagov, who had been "put in the hot seat" before the press.

"We still have to carefully study the whole situation," he said. "It is premature to look for guilty parties. It is clear that a link between programs came into operation in the computer which had not been envisaged by the programmers. We do not know everything. We cannot envisage all possible irregular situations. Before the third attempt we wrote a descent program in the backup computer too, and we could not know beforehand that the main computer might refer to it instead of to the main computer block. This is the kind of new experience which practical work yields.

"As for the crew, it must not always wait for instructions from the flight control center. In the event of a fire, for instance, or the loss of airtightness, or in other dangerous situations, the commander can make the necessary decisions himself concerning an emergency descent. The duration of operation of the engine in an emergency descent at each orbit of the current 24- hour period is always communicated to the crew in advance. Apart from the normal regions in Kazakhstan when the descent is made during the three basic orbits, standby landing sites in the USSR and foreign countries for each of the remaining 13 orbits are also envisaged. In accordance with the convention on the rescue of cosmonauts, they are to be given assistance. So even in a situation of greatest emergency, safe landing places are envisaged and one need not have been in a hurry. But in purely humanitarian terms one could understand V. Lyakhov, who wanted the landing to be accomplished on the day scheduled and in a place where a search and rescue service was expecting the crew. After a careful analysis of all the circumstances, conclusions will certainly be drawn from the situation that developed and lessons will be learned for the future."

...It seemed to the journalists that it was necessary first and formeost to draw a psychological conclusion. However successfully space flights may pass off, no one can be complacent and blunt his vigilance and sense of responsibility. Space can exact a cruel retribution for that. Let us rejoice that the Soviet-Afghan crew fulfilled the entire program of work successfully and ultimately landed successfully. But let us remember that space still means a journey into the unknown.

Flight Leader Says Space Failures 'Not Repeated'
LD0709232988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by "political observer" Aleksandr Tikhomirov]

[Text] So the Soviet-Afghan expedition has ended on the Soyuz TM-5 ship, the same one that delivered a Soviet-Bulgarian crew to the Mir station in the summer of this year.

It is quite natural that yesterday, among the journalists accredited to the flight control center at the moment of the first attempt to land the ship, certain analogies were

drawn with other irregular situations that have taken place over the years of practical cosmonautics. Included in the recollections was our Rukavishnikov with the Bulgarian Ivanov, and their accident and courage at the moment of the return docking which did not take place. Of course the talk was not at all about some kind of failure—ours, or Bulgarian—but on the contrary, about our joint contribution to the practice and safety of flights. More than that, despite the failure of first attempts, today's landing of the Soviet-Afghan crew was calculated by a Bulgarian on-board computer.

[Begin recording] [Flight leader V.V. Ryumin] I must say from control experience that in my view, we have not yet had incidents in which some kind of irregular situations have repeated themselves. (?In) the many, many years of cosmonautics history, life (?offers) a new kind of problem every time, because if some kind of failure appears, then naturally measures are taken and these failures are not repeated in the future. But [words indistinct].

[Tikhomirov] Last, there is the appraisal of the crew's work.

[Ryumin] I have already said that we consider that the crew has completed its work well. Thank you. [end recording]

Cosmonauts Hold News Briefing at Space Center

LD0809132188 Moscow TASS in English 1305 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Baykonur Space Centre September 8 TASS—By a TASS special correspondent:

Soviet cosmonaut Vladimir Lyakhov and his Afghan colleague Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad are feeling well after six days on board the orbital space complex Mir (Peace) and an extraordinary return to earth.

The two spoke before Soviet and Afghan journalists at a news conference in the Baykonur Space Centre today.

The news conference was also attended by Maj.-Gen. Pavel Popovich, deputy head of the cosmonauts' training centre, and members of the backup crew of Anatoliy Berezovoy and Muhammed Dauran Ghulam Ma'sum.

Replying to questions, the crew, code-named Proton, stated that the Soviet-Afghan programme called Shamshad had been fulfilled.

During four orbital turns above Afghan territory, the cosmonauts conducted numerous sessions of photography of the country's areas. Medical studies started during the Soviet-Bulgarian mission under the Shipka project were continued.

The crew have brought back to earth material of the studies conducted by Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov over the past two months.

The journalists were especially interested in details connected with the landing of the Soyuz TM-5 spaceship.

During the first landing attempt, undertaken on September 6, everything went as scheduled, Lyakhov said. But 30 seconds before the engine start-up, there occurred a disruption in the operation of the infrared vertical sensor: The computer was unable to judge whether the spacecraft was correctly oriented, and the engine was shut off.

There was nothing dangerous in that, since the sensor could be switched off on the next turn. However, when the engine was started up at the set time, it braked till the velocity of three metres a second, instead of 115, and turned off. The cause of that was quickly ascertained. But it was decided to land on the planned locality, rather than on standby test ranges. So the landing was put off for twenty-four hours.

The cosmonauts described the hardships they had encountered in the past twenty-four hours of their flight.

The volume of the descent module is only three cubic metres. The third seat, used by Valeriy Polyakov on the flight to orbit, was loaded with a crate containing material of scientific studies.

The cosmonauts had an emergency reserve of food and water, but decided against using them, just then.

Immobility was the biggest problem.

The Proton crew were nearly all the time in the same position as during the launch, which is far from ideal. It was only for a few seconds that they could afford unfastening themselves from the seats to float in zero gravity and relax for a moment. Then they had to return to their seats.

There were also other problems as the utilities compartment of the craft had been jettisoned shortly after undocking from the space station.

Mohmand described his overall impressions of the mission and his feelings during the blast-off and landing.

In assessing the significance of the flight, he said that the boundaries of friendship between the peoples of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union far exceeded the framework of the globe and rose to outer space.

He expressed profound gratitude for the possibility to take part in an historic expedition and for the high award that had been conferred on him.

The protons shared impressions of the warm meeting with the Ocean (resident) crew on board the station. They confirmed that Titov and Manarov were feeling fine and were ready to work on board the complex until December 21 to complete one year in space.

Maj.-Gen. Popovich observed that Polyakov, a physician, was to help the space veterans keep fit and prepare them for a return to earth together with Jean-Loup Chretien who will go on a Soviet-French mission on November 21.

Polyakov will stay on the station with a new main crew and continue in-depth medical research he had already started.

Lyakhov and Mohmand will return in a few days to Star City near Moscow, the township where their road to space began.

'Mir' Cosmonauts Carry Out Docking Maneuver
LD0809100688 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the mission control centre:

A space flight of Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Valeriy Polyakov is going on on board the Mir orbital research complex.

In accordance with a flight program, the crew carried out today the re-docking of the Soyuz TM-6 spaceship from the Kvant astrophysical module to the airlock. The repositioning of the manned orbital complex was done for the purpose of ensuring further operations for delivering there fuel and other cargoes with the help of progress unmanned spaceships.

Before undocking the cosmonauts went to the transport spaceship and closed airlock hatches. At 5.05, Moscow time, Soyuz TM-6 detached itself from the orbital complex.

On the orders of the on-board automatic instruments the station made a turn and found its bearings in space. After that the cosmonauts moved the spaceship close to the orbital complex using a manual control system and docked it to the airlock at 5.25.

According to reports of the crew and the telemetric information, on-board systems of the Mir orbital complex are functioning normally. Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Valeriy Polyakov feel well.